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The Historical Destiny of the Kashmir Insurgency
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Preface

On 10th December 1989, terrorism erupted in the Kashmir Valley, plunging the state into most severe crisis. People everywhere seek a deeper understanding of the soil and roots of the emergence of terrorism in the valley, that demonstrated the acceleration of History in 1947 for the better an oasis of communal harmony in a raging hell fire around it. The present volume analyses the design of Pakistan since 1947, exposure of state leaders and their waverings, role of the Prince Hari Singh, S.M. Abdullah on the eve of accession and Anglo American intrigues. It is a sad story how a nascent flowering secular-democratic movement of Kashmir has touched the peaks of violence, terrorism and communal disharmony. It strings together Excerpts from the contributions made by the leading luminaries on the events of significance.

Historical destiny of the Kashmiri Insurgency argues that Indian State and society are in the midist of crisis produced by the excessive interference of the Centre in the affairs of States — in case of Kashmir errosion of article 370.

Eloquent and clear in its discussion of Nehru, Patel, S.M. Abdullah, G.M. Sadiq and 'Nehruvian Model,' the Book presents a stimulating challenge to the simplistic communal approaches of BJP, VHP and RSS orthodoxies to the Kashmir problem. As such BJP adds grist to the J K Militant mill.

The theme of this Book, falls into eleven consecutive parts. The discussion of origins of terrorism. The glorious struggle of Kashmiri people and Mr M A Jinnah's failure to win over Kashmiri leaders and people to his side and received a serious rebuff. It ennuciates the four components of Kashmir problem and contradictions of kashmiri Muslim consciousness. It also suggests, how to rekindle future sparks from yesterdays embers. It advocates pursuing the tortuous path of Indo-Pak peace even their is still awide gulf in the perception of two countries on the solution of Kashmir problem.

The historical Destiny of the Kashmir insurgency will be of enormous interest to students of Indo-Pak relations, politics and modern history of Kashmir. This is an authoritative and incisive primer on the Kashmir problem and people, being at the centre of India-Pak confrontation. A well documented piece with reference and notes.

1
A Background

The modern history of Kashmir has been the outcome of an interplay of complimentary as well as supplementary forces. The interaction of centripetal and centrifugal trends gave to the freedom movement a distinct identity and style of its own. Though the freedom struggle of Kashmiri people bears the impress of healthy influences from outside but it continues to be the inheriter and perpetuater of local traditions. What we inherited and subsequently preserved in spite of heavy odds is the tradition of tolerance and secular humanism. The unique geographical situation has created in this area a certain regional complex which has been the receptacle of both the contradictory as well as cohesive processes. The elements of contradiction are perhaps a little too apparent. A superficial study tends to note only this aspect of a complex this is Repelition reality and misses the basic elements of cohesiveness. With the development of modern mass media of communication the contradictory processes are increasingly getting weekened. However, discordant notes in the symphony, still remain.

The features of the ancient and the mediaeval phases of the history of Kashmir need not be analysed here. However one distinctive feature of the tradition spread over these phases should be kept in mind while analysing modern developments. Unlike other mountaneous regions of the Indo-Pak sub-continent, which were more or less "refuge areas" or blind alleys of social development, Kashmir due to its strategic location at the hub of Asia, has been the recipient of major cultural influences from the surrounding regions. These influences still survive and can be easily discerned in the spiritual, ethnological and cultural life of the people. Though the valley has been

imbibing external influences, it has succeeded in preserving its individuality. It has absorbed the healty elements from outside but never got submerged in them.

It is a commonly held belief that the Kashmir struggle for freedom and emancipation dates back to 1931. This view is probably not correct. The 1931 explosion and mass upheaval was a continuation, and the nodal point of a series of previous struggles for political freedom which took place in the State since 1870. In the wake of the Franco-Prussian War, Europe was overtaken by a great economic slump. Consequently, the main exports of Kashmir to the outside world i.e. shawls got a great set-back, Internally, the shawl industry was the victim of heavy taxation. These economic factors generated great mass discontent against the government. The economic aspect of the struggle was augmented by the sentiments of political freedom. Unfortunately, this healthy content of the incipient movement got diverted into wrong sectarian channels by certain machinations of the ruling class. It is, interesting to note that in this episode, the Shia-Sunni sectarian conflict had an economic basis in as much as the Shias constituted mainly the Karkhandar employers and the Sunnis predominantly the artisans. The continuing improveishment of the people led to many other forms of discontent including food riots. This was followed in the early twenties by a mass outburst of the silk factory workers against the then ruling class. The nobility of Srinagar, taking advantage of such mass discontent, made attempts to ventilate their grievances and made a representation to the Viceroy of India. As a consequence of this incident certain respectable persons were exiled. These incidents were the precursors of the mass upheaval which shook the Valley in 1931.

Naturally, such a major event in the modern history of Kashmir has provoked conflicting approaches and divergent loyalities. A section of intellectuals, engrossed in appearances and perhaps incapable of deeper probings in the social process, consider the 1931 outburst to be essentially communal in character. In a region with a predominant Muslim population it is only natural that the movement for emancipation was

spearheaded by the Kashmiri Muslims. It may be noted that the religion of the ruling dynasty happened to be Hinduism and the main educated class in the Valley, who were manning all the rungs of the administration, also happened to be Kashmiri Pandits. In such a historical context the movement appeared to be the out-burst of the oppressed Muslims against Hindu Rulers. But this is a very superficial view which ignores the basic social and political processes which were operating under the surface. Similar was the error of the Muslim communal historians of modern India who failed to discover the basic motivations behind the Hindu sources of inspiration of Tilak or Savarkar. Such notions of history have fed and still feed the irrational and obscurantist. "Two Nation Theory". This aproach takes various garbs and sometimes its exponents appear to be arrayed against each other in opposite camps of modern historiography. But in its essential character, these trends is a unified whole and arises out of the historian's inability to recognise the limitations of social backwardness and its compulsions on the freedom struggle of a stagnating social organism. The only scientific method of studying such movements is to analyse their sources, their basic motivations as also the alignment of the various component classes which participate in such struggles. On such a scientific methodology, the conclusion is inescapable. The 1931 revolt was the authentic revolt of the people of the State against the political, social and economic oppression by the ruling class and their henchmen. The rebellious element were the Muslim intelligentsia, the trading class and the mass of the peasentry who were groaning under the yoke of feudal rule. Hence, seen historically, the characteristics of the revolt were essentially neither unhealthy nor comunal but progressive and national. The limitations imposed by the communal form were important but the logic of its national content was of far greater significance.

This analysis does not hold good for Kashmir alone. In many other parts of feudal India, differences in the religious pursuation of the people coincided with class and social differences. After the advent of Islam in India, some of the larger states were headed by Muslims governors and some of

feudal nobility in Northern India was also Muslim. The merchants, monylenders and the bulk of the population, however, continued to be mostly Hindu, while many peasants and artisans embraced Islam. Take the case of pre-partition Bengal where a large section of the small land holders was Muslim. The struggle of the Muslim peasant against the Hindu jotedars in Bengal may have tended to acquire a communal character and may have even been exploited by communal parties but its basic character, nevertheless, remained rooted in socio-economic realities. The orthodox Indian tradition, persisting from early times, has left a legacy which was utilized by early pioneers of the freedom struggle to justify and promote programmes and theories of political action, which tended to blend Hindu Nationalism and Indian Nationalism. In his biography of Savarkar Ken relates an interesting example of the early mixture of anti-British and Anti-Muslim sentiments in the background of Hindu Muslim riots. It is clear from the above that in a socially backward milieu, the blending of national and religious nuances is natural and such distortions should not blind us towards the real nature of the movements. The phenomenon of the 1931 Kashmir struggle should be analysed and examined in this context and this context alone.

There has been very little study of end research on the period from 1931 to 1938. These years were crucial and formative for the movement. It is quite common in some Pseudo-nationalist circles to dub this period as a period of communal dominance over the Kashmir movement for freedom because in this period it was led by the Muslim Conference. A close study, however, reveals that this nascent movement fought its way to assume a progressive and secular complexion. The essential content proved too powerful for the form. The form was rendered obsolete and thrown in the dustbin of hstiroy.

During these crucial years, the movement was reared and nurtured by political elements in the neighbouring province of the Punjab, It is, therefore, necessary to examine the emerging contours of the Punjab politics of the thirties – its nature and characteristics. The main religious-cum-educational organisations

of the Punjab which supported the Kashmir Movement were the Anjuman-i-Himayat-ul-Islam, the Majlis-i-Ahrar and otheranti-imperialist Muslim nationalist organisations. Another great factor which gave impetus to the movement in Kashmir was the poet philosopher, Doctor Iqbal, who through his poetical writings and speeches depicted the Kashmir's tale of woe. These organisations and personalities from the Punjab exerted great influence on and helped to mould the freedom struggle in Kashmir, The Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam, founded in 1890, had an anti-British character. The Ulemas and early muslim educationalist in Punjab, who were associated with the Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam, attacked the Ahmadiya Movement for the latter's support to British colonial rule. The society was strongly influenced by Syed Ahmed Khan whose ideas were keenly felt in the Punjab Movement for social reform. The Majlis-i-Ahrar was also a militant anti-British Muslim Nationalist organisation. Many of its important leaders were emigrant Kashmiri Muslims residing in Lahore, Sialkot and Amritsar., It gave a militant battle to support the Kashmir struggle under the Kashmir State Muslim Conference. During the darkest days of oppression when the Burma Ordinance and Martial law were in operation and flogging was the order of the day in Kashmir, the Majlis-i-Ahrar gave the slogan of "kashmir Chalo." Thousands of patriots entered the State. Mass arrests were made and the situation became so dangerous for the State authorities that they had to approach the British government to seek their help to control the situation in the Punjab and avert the inflow of Ahrars in the State of Kashmir. Bloody battles took place between the British police and the army on the one hand and the Ahrars on the other. In the Punjab, a Kashmir committee was formed to support the Kashmir struggle for freedom and the committee was headed by prominent personalities from the Anjuman-i-Himayat-ul-Islam, Dr Iqbal, and some leaders of the Majlis-i-Ahrar.

The British and the feudal henchmen got so scared of the progressive character of the Kashmir Movement that they tried to counter-balance it. Under their inspiration, the propertied Muslim elements in the Punjab initiated a new muslim sectarian movement - the Ahmediya or Qadyani Movement. It is not the

intention here to evaluate the religious ideas of the movement but only its political role. The followers of this Movement set out to adopt the Islam to the new socio-economic and political setting. While preaching the Muslim faith among the people of other religions, mainly Christian and Hindus, they also sought to provide an ideological justification for the political cooperation of Muslims with the British. They upheld the view that Jahad was contrary to the Quranic doctrine. Members of this propertied sect attested that the presentation of this theory was the greatest service they performed for the British government. This sect, in order to counter the anti-British nature of the Kashmir Movement, professed their sympathy with it. Their powerful organ Al-Fazal, through its column,s supported the movement but tried to eliminate the influence of Ahrars from the Kashmir Movement. Scores of Kadiani Mubaligs came to the Kashmir valley to strengthen their movement and secure hegemony over the Kashmir Muslim Conference. A great political battle raged inside Kashmir between anti-Ahmediyas and pro-Ahmediyas. Outside Kashmir, this battle extended to the whole of the Punjab as between the Ahrars and the Ahmediyas. The pro-Ahmediya leadership was thrown out from the leadership of the movement in Kashmir and in the Punjab the Ahrars succeeded in exposing their pro-British character. This was a crucial period in the history of the Kashmir movement and it was during these times that its essential features emerged. It maintained its anti-feudal, anti-British character even if it was functioning under the banner of the State Muslim Conference.

A very important factor which exerted considerable influence on the movement was the fact that the main leadership of the Muslim Conference and later of the National Conference (and even today of the National Congress and the other political parties) mainly comprised of those who were educated at Aligarh. They form the main political ideological leadership of the various parties in the State and during the period under review, they were the main leaders of the movement. It will not be out of context here to give a critical appraisal of the role of the Aligarh school of thought in the national politics of the country. Muslim intellectuals were reared by and large on

the ideological content as propagated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's journal 'Social Reformer.' This school of thought attacked religious bigotry and advocated secular education and the modern values of western culture. According to Dr. Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advocated industrial development and commerce and appealed to his countrymen to do something about the wretched plight of the masses. He was a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. "Do not forget that Hindu and Muslims are names referring to the religious denomination," he said in one of his lectures, 'but whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, so long as these people live in our country they form one nation regardless of their faith. And since they are all one Nation, they must also be one in their concern for the general political interests of their country. We must unite to solve the common problems. If we do so we will survive and if not, such relations will be disastrous for Hindus and Muslims alike.' This was an important element of the ideology of the Aligarh school which from the very beginning exerted great influence over the politics of the state and led to a serious conflict within its polity. The Maulvis or higher Ulamas opposed the Movement led by the Muslim Conference while the broad-based majority of muslim clergy called Peers- more or less the muslim intelligentia- supported the movement. The higher clergy stood for a compromise with the feudal government and opposed the main demands of the Movement. They were supported by the Muslim feudal elements who got scared of the progressive nature of the freedom struggle. This process led to the lower clergy becoming the bedrock of the anti-feudal movement and the upper clergy collaborating with it. This is analogous to the French Revolution where the lower clergy supported the revolution and the upper clergy opposed it. This process was not only confined to the political sphere but extended to the sphere of education and culture as well. The feudal elements in collaboration with religious Mullas opposed modern trends in culture, education social reforms and even Sir Syed's concept of re-orientation of Islam. It was not an accidental phenomenon that the landlords who took the lead

in Muslim communal movement of North India were allied with the upper crust of religious Mullas while a section of the Muslim intellectuals was opposed to the Muslim communal movement and was willing to cooperate with the All Indian National political organisations. In Kashmir as in other parts of India, traders, civil servants and some of the minor landlords owed their interest in social affairs to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's ideological influence. A generation of muslim intellectuals throughout India and specially in Kashmir was reared in the Aligarh tradition, Many of them later turned their backs on religious sectarianism opposing Mullaism and adopting an Indian national viewpoint.

In 1937-38 a group of enlightened, politically active and mostly intellectual Kashmiri Brahmins came nearer to the Muslim Conference. They realised its progressive potentialities and popular character. After a series of discussions and debates the stage was set for converting this mass organisation into the National Conference. What tey added to its mass character and more or less popular programme was the fact that it now included all the people of the State irrespective of castes, creed and colour. All these deliberations were concretised in a charter called the charter of 'National Demands.' It was a historical coincidence that in the same year Dr. Iqbal passed away. It will be apt to note here that the ideological inspiration which permeated our movement during this period was that of this great Kashmiri Brahmin who remained a unique inspirer of the Movement from 1931 till his death in 1938. If this period should be called the Era of Iqbal in our Movement it would not be incorect to designate the period following as the Nehru Era. Like his predecessor this great Kashmiri Brahmin, through his political acumen, put the stamp of his ideas on the political scene from 1938 onwards.

In 1938, the first political struggle was launched for the establishment of a responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja. The Movement was suppressed and the leaders arrested. After their release, the state leadership of the organisation participated in the Conference held at Ludhiana under the auspices of the All India State Peoples' Conference.

It was here that the state leadership of Kashmir came closer to the personality of Pandit Nehru. It was impressed by his ardent anti-imperialism, anti feudalism and socialistic ideas. With the approaching of world War II the ideas of socialism, spread to the State particularly to the Valley. The leadership of the National Conference built a Trade Union Movement and organised peasants in rural organisations. This was the period when ideas of Marxism were spreading fast throughout the country. The enlightened leadership of the National Conference evolved a detailed socialistic programme called Naya Kashmir. This programme was in a way more advanced and radical than the programme envisaged by the Indian National Congress and its allied organisations. With the adoption of this programme the organisation became socialistic in its outlook and approach. After the out break of the war and repression unleashed by British government, the Kashmir Movement supported the stand taken by the Indian Leadership for complete Independence of the country, while maintaining a clear and explicit anti fascist stand. With the defeat of fascist powers and the spread of mass upsurge throughout the country inspired by the INA, and the revolt of RIN ratings, the Kashmir Movement forged ahead in its battle against feudal autocracy and imperialism. The National Conference, by initiating the quit Kashmir Movement made a departure from the establishment programme of All India's State Peoples Conference. The Quit Kashmir Movement was not only a slogan to establish responsible government within the monarchical frame work but a clarion call for complete liquidation of the feudal autocratic structure. The slogan was supplemented by a battle cry to the peasantry for abolition of landlordsism without compensation. This slogan was radical compared to the agrarian policy of the All India State Peoples' Conference and the Indian National Congress. It is an accomplished historical fact that in comparison to other States of India the enunciated land policy was practically implemented in this State and land was distributed among the tillers without compensation.

On the basis of the foregoing study, the following conlcusions can be drawn :

(*a*) The freedom struggle of Kashmiri people was an integral part of the anti imperialist movement in the sub-continent. It got sustenance from it and, in its turn, gave new directions to this struggle.

(*b*) Within the framework of the national and anti imperialist struggle the freedom movement of the Kashmiri people maintained its individuality and its distinct character. Anti-imperialist struggle was in fact an integral part of the movement.

(*c*) The Kashmir struggle for freedom acquired its mass character because it had an anti-feudal economic content.

(*d*) The freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people, had a communal form in its embryonic stages because of the compulsions of social backwardness but it soon broke with the obscurantist communalism and became a worthy inheritor of the secular and humanistic legacy of its history.

End of religious nationalism :

In 1947, the partition of India was a half hearted admission of religious nationalism, it created Hindu majority State (India) and a Muslim majority State – Pakistan. But the movement led by radical nationalists in Jammu and Kashmir working in National Conference led by S.M. Abdullah, in fact, revolted against religious politics. "The State of Jammu and Kashmir, predominantly Muslim (66.85%) was integrated with the Indian Nationalist aspirations through an anti-feudal struggle against the Hindu prince. During the merger-negotiations the prince toyed with the idea of Independence while the National Conference, led by S.M. Abdullah, threw its lot with India. The Union was qualified by the retention of a vast amount of autonomy by the State, Although over the period of time strains have occasionally appeared over the quantun of autonomy, the accession to India has never been in doubt. In spite of three religious concentrations in Jammu and Kashmir State the idea of division of state on religious basis was turned down by all the leaders of the three regions as well as by the G.O.I. This new historical phenomenon is not an historical accident

but logical conclusion of the movement led by radical nationalists initiated by Kashmir working class and intelligentsia.

Thermodoir reaction and its causes :

In spite of such a commendable role of Radical Nationalists, what were the reasons that such a leadership having at its back anti-imperialist, anti-monarchy, anti-feudal role could neither sustain nor register the historical continuity of the movement and could register further advances in these directions but instend vacillated? This is a relevant question which needs elucidation and elaboration.

Firstly there are historical constraints on the role of Radical Nationalists imposed by their class character and social origin. These restraints never allow them to rise to the position of Revolutionary democrats. This was the case with the out look of Pt. Nehru, Subash Bose, the Congress Socialists and anarchists of thirties, especially those under the leadership of Bhagat Singh. The definition of Revolutionary Democrats is a political force of active members of the Urban petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia who not only support antifeudal, anti-imperialist but also anti-capitalit struggle. It is here where Radical Nationalism fumbles.

Secondly, partition of India gave a serious jolt to kashmir Radical Nationalists, and started the process of erosion of their mass base immediately in the wake of formation of Pakistan on religious basis. At that time to face secession was not an ordinary affair but herculean task. The Kashmir issue was in U.N. Anglo-American Imperialists through Pakistan not only unleashed barrage of communal vicious anti-secular propaganda against Kashmir Nationalists but organized subversion which led to the revival of the activities of the forces of obsolete feudal society, obscurantists, nobility and clergy.

Thirdly, in the Jammu region, prior to 1947, R.S.S. a militant Hindu organisation had entrenched itself within the ranks of middle class and merchants due to weakness of anti feudal movement. The All India Right reaction, inside the then congress and outside got a strong handy vital handle to

intervene and operate through these decadent reactionary forces. In Jammu region ensuing economic crisis, a section of careerist politicians were also a serious factor to destabilise the situation and escalate it and act as a grist to the Mill. The radical land reforms in the State alarmed the feudal class of the country.

Fourthly, as already elaborated, the politicdal consciousness in the state being uneven, regionwise and classwise after independence, half backed political activists, opportunists, erstwhile lackeys of feudal lords, political careerists to make hay while sun shone, wormed their way into political organisation for favour of loaves and fishes to make riches in the rat race competition. Unknown, obscure figures without any tradition or past became overnight prominent. Rank opportunists, who had ruthless lust for power and money, resorted to various political acrobatics, acted as agent provocaturers, cunningly and surreptitiously exploited strain between Centre and State on the one hand and on the other hand erstwhile anti-secular forces succeeded in creating schism in the secular ideological integrity of the leadership and thus could make secession a lucrative trade and thriving proposition.

Imperialism does not only intervene physically, materially but subtly and indirectly. Immediately in post independence period., such a situation was ideal for the forces of disruption, reaction and intervenion. Not to speak of further progressive advances after abolition of Landlordism, philosophy of 'New Kashmir' was buried deep; democratic rights were trampled; rule of the batton was the order of the day. In this critical hour, democratic breezes came to the rescue of Kashmir people from rest of the country (1957-1965), liberal and democratic progressive forces of Jammu in alliance with democratic forces of Valley gave a new turn to the situation for further advance. These poltical segments of the Jammu region represented the democratic aspirations of not only Jammu but of the entire State. Such a reciprocal process of democratization had evolved and is evolving two divisions into a historical community. It should be kept in mind that State is not yet free from "un-natural" Hot house politics." Last but not

least in such a situation, Radical Nationalists who constituted sections of petty bourgeoisie anbd intelligentsia, do not possess ability to identify and paralyse the reactionary and anti-progressive forces, do not find bearings in conditions of sharp the struggle between the forces of reaction and progress. They are not revolutionary democrats.

In the past history, the people of the State were palanquin bearers of Hindu, Muslim, Budh monarchs and Mughal rulers. It was the old generation of the recent past who accepted the challenge and also not only changed the political regime, from monarchy to democracy but smashed the old socio-economic formation - a dead weight on the people for centuries.

Lumpen Development – Lumpen Bourgeoisie (Merchant Commercial cum smuggler :

In post independence period, state of economic affairs is dominated by a class representing "Charas smuggling, corruption, Tax evasion, black marketing, profiteering, non-taxable orchard money, accumulations transport sector monopolizedly chosen few, land speculators round the major cities, a certain shady class of contractors, carpet, apple and forest kings who have already denuded the forest wealth. It has created a new exploiting class called lumpen bourgeoisie in place of old feudalists and money-lenders. This class by and large is counter productive, not capitalists in the modern sense. The recognised influences in the present society are basically : (beyond the pale of law no doubt) bribery, promotion of private interests. The lumpen bourgeoisie or in other words financial aristocracy is sluggish in its development. Its psycho-social temper is vulgur and not original. It finds its friend and mentors in petty bourgeoisie dross (Muslim obscurantists and and Hindu revivalists). The only dexterity and competence it has is in its traditional crafty money-making. May it be the sphere of morality, value systme, compassion, humanity, ethics, politcis its slogan is :-

'Citizens, "Business is business," Such a socio-economic atmosphere breeds in politics mediocres, phlistines, lumpens, who have every likelihood of losing their dominance if political

life were conducted on a larger scale. Marx analysed such a state of affairs prevailing in France in 1948 , "Ununbridled assertion of unhealthy and dissolute appetities manifested itself, particularly at the top of society, lusts wherein wealth derived from gambling (by gambling I think Marx, meant easy money acquired through unproductive means) naturally seeks its satisfaction, where pleasure becomes? debanched, where money, filth and blood commingle. The finance aristocracy in its mode of acquisition as well as in its pleasures, is nothing but rebirth of the lumpen proletariate on the height of capitalist society.

The last generaiton with its limitations imposed by logic of history had an ideal and clear perspective. Today in the state the present generation by and large is devoid of ideals and has a blurred perspective.

To change present socio-economic formation as analysed above is posing challenge to the present generaiton today. Governments may come and go, system of black and easy money is to be changed and given a direction to non-capitalist path and true socialism. Such an ideal cannot be achieved unless system which has generated, "break-neck race for property, status and personal advantage, is not smashed. the characteristics of the last two decades had not become in pre-1947 phase a powerful factor in shaping social behaviour of the Valley, so they were able to create new records of self sacrifice for the common good.

Political situation on the eve of historic accord of 1975 :

In 1974 there was not a single party in the country which had not expressed itself on the dialogue between the representatives of the Prime Minister and of Sheikh Abdullah.

On the eve of historic Accord, there was, however, a mising link in this chain - the traditions of the national movement, the great saga of freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people, hand in hand with the people of the rest of the country, against feudalism autocracy and imperialism. In order to understand Kashmir politics of today and the character of its leadership it is necessary to see it in its historical perspective;

otherwise, the entire picture would get distorted. This is precisely what the reactionary and obscurentist forces in the country are trying to do.

During the independence strugtgle, Sheikh Abdullah alongwith a band of devoted and dedicated colleagues and workers., with a radical perspective and a socialist programme, committed to a progressive ideology, formed a national organisation - the National Conference. It evolved a platform, popularly called "New Kashmir," which envisaged a radical socio-economic transformation in the State. It raised the slogan "Quit Autocracy," and organised a powerful movement around it. It may be noted that this slogan was more far-reaching and revolutionary than those raised by the other Praja Mandal movements, organised under the All India State People's Conference.

The core of the "Naya Kashmir" programme was the slogan of "land to the tiller without compensation." It was the radical mass movement of the Kashmiri people, unleashed by such a programme, which made it possible for them to opt for India, reject the two-Nation theory, and maintain communal peace during the post-Partition holocaust. The leaders of the people of Kashmir approached the central leadership for help to drive away the Pakistani raiders from the State.

The obscurantist and reactionary forces and parties of India are now trying to conceal or distort this glorious page of kashmir history. The Jana Sangh, for example, does not acknowledge the role of the Kashmiri people in the process of accession of the State to India, but gives the credit for it only to the army and the Maharaja. This is a gross distortion of history.

The leadership of Kashmir headed by Sheikh Abdullah, after assuming power, launched a radical programme of socio-economic transformation - its most important component being the abolition of landlordism without compensation, cancellation of peasants' debts to moneylenders, massive redemption of mortgages, abolition of monarchy, and the formulation of the State Constitution. Such measures shocked the reactionaries

inside and outside the State. Even inside the Congress, a strong lobby, led by the Rightists, was against such measures.

Though considerable progress was made, the problems of socio-economic transformation were too complex to be tackled by Legislation alone. It is a historical fact that with a corrupt bureaucracy parliamentary democracy suffers from grave limitations. In spite of generous assistance from the Government of India, the burning problems – political and socio-economic – were only partly solved. In this background, the reactionary offensive from Hindu and Muslim communalists, and corrupting influence of power-seekers, accentuated the existing strains and stresses.

The massive communal propaganda beamed from across the cease-fire line confused the Kashmiri people to a certain extent. It became clear that for genuine socio-economic transformation and healthy political development, financial assistance alone was not enough. The main ingredients of socio-economic development are rapid industrialisation, Power generaiton and cultural rejuvenation. In the absence of these factors no genuine plitical development can be achieved.

With the constraints of an essentially parasitic economy, a corrupt bureaucracy and a diseased political system, the glorious traditions of the movement faced serious problems. The economy of the State did not register an advance ensuring an adequate rate of economic growth. The government and the party organisation found itself incapable of tackling these complexities: and finally it all resulted in the 1953 crisis.

This reality should not be lost sight of in the maze of apparent causes. It is also a fact that in this uncertain situation, American imperialism tried to intervene and made attempts to utilise the situation in its favour.

At this critical juncture, the political leadership failed to evolve a proper line of action. Instead, it got involved in bickerings and finding scapegoats. In this desperate situation emerged the negative politics of "Independent Kashmir," secession and plebiscite, on the one hand, and, on the other,

of massive corruption through economic doles and the petty politics of economic concessionism.

These approaches distorted the democratic movement and thwarted its growth. The opportunities of further advance of democratic movement became bleak. A new generation of youth, especially the new intelligentsia which came up as a result of spread of education, got disillusioned with the existing set up. It led to further discontent against the Government.

It is not being denied that there was some development during this period. What is being stated is that it was imbalanced and distorted. The entire process stagnated under the pressures of negative politics of plebiscite, secession and economic doles. The situatio, including the measures evolved had only a marginal reference to the genuine aspirations of the people.

Across the cease-fire line, in the so-called Azad Kashmir, the situation obtaining in these years was considerably worse. The people, particularly the Kashmiris, were (and still are) treated as serfs and second-class citizens. They were denied civil liberties and democratic rights. Such conditions have completely dissillusioned the people in those areas: They have a strong urge to unite with the Jammu and Kashmir State, though it is being sought to be crushed with an iron hand.

The Left and democratic forces inside Kashmir developed under the impact of the "New Kashmir" struggle and within the framework of the National Conference. On the basis of subjective understanding during these years, they did not play their proper role but got divided and fragmented. The Left in Kashmir did not cultivate the democratic consciousness of the people to enable them to understand the role of various classes in relation to Kashmir politics; like the attitude of Indian monopoly capital, the role of communal parties, and obscurantists in contrast to the genuine role of the Left and democratic forces inside and outside the Congress.

The tragedy of the Left during these years has been that instead of consolidating itself, its votaries themselves became

victims of opportunist power politics. This weakness of the Left further accentuated the already tense situation. The Left in Kashmir has to go a long way to build something new in the State. It needs heart-searching self-criticism and a sense of sacrifices.

The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent republic brought about a change in the correlation of political forces in the subcontinent, and it exercised a tremendous influence on the people of Kashmir. It initiated a process of rethinking. The people are intelligent enough to see that while civil and democratic liberties are being enjoyed in India, they have been greatly curtailed by the Pak ruling classes.

The orgy of oppression of and repression against the Baluchs and Pathanss by the dominant Punjabi ruling classes has hurt the sentiments of the Kashmiris and roused their real consciosness. They think that their position would have been pathetic, had they committed the blunder of acceding to Pakistan at the time of Partition. The present political situation and fresh breeze blowing in the valley is the result of this process.

It may be noted that inside the Central leadership and the Government of India there has existed from the very beginning two trends concerning the Kashmir question one calling for reconciliation and the other for confrontation. With the split in the Congress and the emergence of bangladesh, a new correlation of forces has emerged on the Indian scene.

It was realised that the Kashmir tangle cannot be resolved with a "law and order" approach. Inside the State, this process was initiated by late Sadiq Sahib, and subsequently pursued by Peer Giyasuddin. (Author) and other democratic element.

A new Polarisation took place in the state. On one side were ranged the Awami Action Committee, the Jamait-i-islami and the Jana Sangh supported by vested interests. These forces are regrouping themselves and posing a serious threat to the process of democratisation. On the other side Sheikh Sahib and the vast majority of genuine Congress workers and leaders

from all regions including the democratic and progressive elements in Kashmir were wedded to secularism and democracy.

These forces forged bonds of unity to face the challenge. There was no doubt that this confrontation will draw all genuine elements into the national main-stream leading to the victory of the democratic forces. The process should be viewed as a political strategy for victory of healthy values in the national movement of Kashmir, in the perspective of its historical tradition.

The problem was permitted to be bogged down in legal and constitutional quibblings and petty bargaining. However, the discussion was not elevated to the level of raising healthy political issues and the processes. The secular and democratic forces in the state and country were not strengthened. The historic accord did not succeed to nurture new shoots of the traditional movement in the spring of new hopes.

2
Shadow of Terror

An extensive literature in haste; both journalistic and publicist has cropped up since Kashmir insurgency. Mostly it is full of deliberate concealment of historical facts, subjectivity and lack of the selection and arrangement of appropriate facts. Yet if absolute objectivity is impossible, the role of the writer in no way suffer, nor does analysis lose its fascination. It is apt to recall the favouite dictum of the great liberal journalist C.P. Scott : Facts are sacred opinion is free.

The cult of Kalashnikov, a present dominant trend in Kashmir has debunked the myth that: "The Kashmiri is a loquacious person, but he rarely resorts to force, and the possibility of his blood being shed can readily instill terror into this heart."[1] In comparison to the past traditions the present pervalent "Gun-culture, is not merely a quantum jump but a backward leap-historical regression.

On causes of Terrorism in Kashmir pen has been wielded cricumspectly and liberally too. Frequently the main springs of insurgency are dictated by nationalist or religious, ethnical and political aspirations. In their ideologies national, religious, ideological fundamentalism, political ethnical and social motives are interwoven, yet one can always determine which of these are primary and predominant and which are subordinate and attendant.

A recourse to insurgency is by itself an indicator of political weakness. It is an attempt to make small things look great. In-surgency alone is incapable of achieving very much, yet it can be instrument in the hands of much more powerful

social forces and provoke most social upheavals-the danger of political and economic havoc, the establishment of an atmosphere of tension, capable of erupting into war. The insurgency poses the main questions? "The Right to hate" "A struggle against the people in the name of people," The total violence and Repressive tolerance. "Violence is a complex societal phenomenon which attempts to strike at the institutional aspect of state and Society. Its purpose is to induce fear and intimidation. (ALEX Schmid has identified 109 different" "definitions of violence" quoted in walter Lequeurs, reflections on Terrorism.'

There is also, "The other Terrorism or state Terrorism, for those who are not living in Kashmir it is just not possible to feel or comprehend what the people of State are going through.

There are two types of Terrorism-Leftist and Rightist. The Rightist terrorism is result of religious/ideological fundamentalism. In Kashmir it is result of religious fundamentalism combined with separatism. As such, terrorism represents a political cum ideological problem and can only be tackled effectively if this is taken into account.

Hatred towards the secular system, composite culture, religious tolerance, and the belief in rapid communal and unhealthy social myths are more than facts of life. There is a substantial difference between rightist and leftist terrorism. But both are bad enough. Life has shown that rightist terrorism in its scale and the number of victims surpass those of the leftist terror. The basic task of terrorism is not to eliminate individuals, even high ranking ones, it is to intimidate society. "Kill one, frighten ten thousand" is an old Chinese saying terrorists are fond of saying."

Terrorism broke out in the valley in 1989. Pakistan proclaims its help and support to the terror on the strength of the bond of Islam and the bond of ethnic identity, mostly religious. The roots of terrorism are multifacet, several and both long term and precipitate. The birth of nationalist movement in Kashmir in forties, and Kashmir's accession to

India in 1947, and disnintegration of this glorious movement, till it touched the peaks of Rightist, communal terrorism is a sad story of modern India.

To lay bare the political struggle of Kashmir, gleaning into its past is necessary to explode the common held myth that story of Kashmir starts since 1947. "The past which a historian studies is not a dead past, but a past which in some sense is still living in the present."

Past, Present and Future of the National Conference :

The Muslim Conference since its inception in 1931, prior to its conversion to the National Conference, had a serious combat with traditional Muslim fundamentalism represented by Mirwaiz Moulvi Yousuf Shah, a prominent religious leader, having a substantial base among Muslims and muslim elite. Mirwaiz, and his associates detested this new phenomenon. In 1932 he condemned the new progressive trend and said :

"Those who do not follow the cannons of Islam will never progress... Those who donot know the different aspects of the meaning of the Arabic language can interpret the Quran wrongly."

Moulvi Yousuf Shah and his followers made up with the autocratic regime. The sweep of the new enlightenment among the Kashmiri masses isolated the Mullas (Muslim priests) and Mir Waiz failed to regain most of his lost influence. Ahmadiya influence began to have its impact on the embryonic movement led by S.M. Abdullah. Ahrars having anti-British orientation hit back and denounced Ahmadiya role in Kashmir.

Majlis-I-Ahrar-I-Islami Hind, participated in the 1930 session of the Congress at Lahore. The leaders and ranks of the organisation were prominent Kashmiri migrants-Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Mulana Mazhar Ali, Khawja Abdul Rehman Ghazi, several of wnom latter played a role in Kashmir and anti-Ahmediyah affairs.[4] In its very infancy it was responsible for launching a peoples movement in Kashmir. The response may be judged from the fact that several thousand persons courted imprisonment in that movement for extending rights of subjects.

The Muslim Conference led by S.M. Abdullah actively responded to the fraternal co-operation extended by the Ahrarars to Kashmir freedom struggle. Muslim priests, business magnates (Khawjas), vested interests and Muslim communal intelligentsia in collusions with fundamentalists and Dogra Autocracy opposed this movement. It was the first battle; gruesome, tough and incisive fought in the streets between traditional Mullas, conservative and fundamentalists and their followers and new enlightened Muslim elite and common people. People won and traditional Mullaism was on defensive but not totally liquidated.

With the formation of All J&K Muslim Conference led by S.M. Abdullah, and his colleagues, a new alignment of forces took place. In embroynic form, the organisation was not communal in substance. It espoused the cause of peasantry, artisan and intelligentsia. It demanded a legislature for the State people. And in 1934, it returned its candidates with thumping majority to the Praja Sabha. Muslim fundamentalist reaction was not lying low, though dormant it was forging links across the State borders-mainly Punjab. The main lever of this fundamentalist trend was priestly class, pro-British muslim artistocracy and upper crust intelligentsia. British factor became active in Kashmir politics. The British Resident was ruling roast and during this phase British consolidation in J&K took place. In 1935, Maharaja Hari Singh surrendered the Gilgat Agency to the British.

British interference in the Kashmir affairs was not only confined to strategical sphere, but surreptitiously diverting the anti-feudal struggle into communal channels-a conflict of Muslims against Hindu prince, such an attitude facilitated their active intervention in the state polity. These heinous designs of the British and Muslim league got foiled in the beginning of 1940, when in a special session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference met in Srinagar in 1939, National conference was born, it forestalled the Two nation theory, Resolution of Muslim league adopted in Lahore Session in 1940 at Lahore. It had a far reaching significance, a Kashmiri muslim majority state like North

West frontier playing down the Communal card of Mr. Jinnaha and discarding the theory of two cultures. It upheld the concept of composite culture. But this qualitative political transformation, needed sustenance and cooperation of all regions of the state. The Jammu and Kashmir State was mismatched politically and culturally.

Jinnah's Kashmir Visit (1944) A Dispute and Debate on two Nation Theory

Most of the prominent Muslim Conference leaders from Jammu-Choudhary Ghulam Abbas and Choudhry Hamidullah and others lined up with Mirwaiz Moulve Yousuf Shah, Muslim administrative intelligentsia was appreciative of such a step. Several Muslim M.L.A.s lead by Choudhry Hamud-ullah from the Jammu province left National Conference and again set up the Muslim Conference. They did enjoy the support of Muslim bureaucracy. The National Conference had to be on defensive. The ratio of Muslim Population, in Jammu was a major one-53 percent campared to Hindu 47 percent. Except an nationalist oas-is-Mirpur Tehsil (mostly Muslim) the rest was political desert. Most of the Dogra Hindu population had dominant pro-monarchy sentiment. In pre-partition days Hindu princes in North India propoed up and aided R.S.S. organisation's. After Nagpur the strong storm centre of R.S.S. activities was considered Jammu division.

For National Conference and its leaders nationalism was not a garden path. The Path was strewn with thorns and difficult to tread. Both Muslim and Hindu fundamentalist forces had back of palace and support of British. Muslim Conference acted as an associate body of All India Muslim league and hindus were actively in collaboration with Hindu communal organisation in India.

In this back drop and context Jinnah started his triumphant march from Punjab to Kashmir in May 1944. The muslim conference and its base in the State was at his beck call. The National Conference adopted a flexible strategy but stood firm on principles. It accorded reception but confronted Mr Jinnah

on the issue of struggle against feudal authocracy and imperialism and further, stressed the recognition of the National conference encapsulating all castes and Communities. Mr. Jinnah, as Muslim League was constituted could not offend princes and feudal lords, and could not support the socialist programme of "New Kashmir," dithered, prevaricated and finally declared war against S.M. Abdullah and National conference. For one month there was political contest and dialogue from the respective rostrums-an open and domocratic. Mr. Jinnah could not succeed to persuade the Kashmiri Muslims to adopt two nation theory and slogan of Pakistan. Ultimately Mr. Jinnah met his waterloo in Kashmir and left Kashmir disappointed. National conference was triumphant and morale of its cadre was high.

Howsoever, the seeds of idea of Pakistan and communalism were sown in the State. The entire Jammu Muslim population, ethnically and culturally akin to Punjabi Muslims was pro-Muslim league. In Kashmir Muslim intelligentsia, Muslim priestly class lead by Mirwaiz and big businessman were backbone of Muslim Conference. The National Conference following constituted, peasanty, lower middle class, lower clergy peers, artisans and working class.

Most of the muslim conference/leaders from Jammu province, who had opted at Anantnag session for National conference revised their decision under the pressure of the Muslims in the Government Service, who considered their mouth-piece and platform the Muslim conference, who could support their sectional demands, in the way that the Muslim conference organisation did in the past. In the session held at Baramulla, no muslim representative from the Jammu province attended the session except a few solitary figures from Mirpur-Sardar Budh Singh, Raja Akbar Khan, Master Abdul Aziz and Krishan Dev Sethi. On petty issues there were bickerings and under the pretext of dispute over script, some of the delegates tried embarras it to put National Conference leadersship on defensive and to embarras it. A prominent leader from Jammu, Choudhry Hamidullah and other Muslim M.L,A's resigned from the National Conference, reconstituted and again set up

Muslim Conference an associate body of All India Muslim League half missing. This was a period of acute stresses and strains for Kashmir Nationalists. Communal and separatist activities caused the intensification of political disruption all over the country. It has its impact on Kashmir Political Scenario. To hold aloft the nationalist banner was tough and arduous job. But the National conference held its ground with firmness and boldness and political clarity. The communal clap-trap and resolution of Muslim league on Pakistan in 1940, even had its repercussions in the state too.

The Left Radical Tradition in Kashmir Political Consciousness

The national Conference leadership did not dither, evolved a radical socio-economic programme-New Kashmir." It contained the detailed enunciation of the 'peasants charter' workers charter' and women's charter and restructuring of State apparatus on democratic principles. This progressive view point and programme was not to the taste and liking of official congress and Muslim league being through and through pro-imperialist-Pro-landlord was hostile to it.

In the post war period, the communists evolved the concept of the recognition of the right of self determination of nationalistics. This approach was adopted by the National Conference. During Mr. Jinnahas visit in 1944 the Kashmir nationalist leaders advocated this view to Jinnah. In a mammoth session of all J&K National Conference held at Sopore in 1945, when Nehru, Azad, Khan Gaffar Khan Participated in the deliberations, the same approach of State autonomy was presented to them by the National Conference leaders. The resolution on the autonomy of the States was adopted called "Right of nationalities to the self determination." This resolution is essence of State autonomy and root of the article of 370-incorporated in the Indian constitution.

In 1939, the Kashmir's anti-feudal struggle established link with anti, autocracy movement of princely States. It was now part of the freedom movement of entire sub-continent. Nehru was president designate and S.M. Abdullah the Vice President of All India States peoples Conference.

The Post War up-Surge and Quit Kashmir Movement

On the arrival of cabinet mission at Delhi, the National Conference leadership submitted its memorandum to the mission an early March 1946. The memorandum Commented :

"No Sale Deed, howsoever Sacro-Sanct, can condemn more than four million men and Women to the servitude of an autocrat wen the will to live under his rule is no longer there. We the people of Kashmir are determined to mould our destiny and we appeal to the members of cabinet Mission to recognise the justice and strength our case."

It was clarian call tothe state people for 'Quit Kashmir' Movement and demanding the annulment of treaty of Amiritsar, alongwith the withdrawal of British imperialism from the subcontinent.

The movement being anti feudal, logically had an anti-imperialist character. The feudal princes existed and maintained on the basis of treaties made with east India Company. It applied to treaty of Amritisar which has some special and unhappy features.

"Here was a movement which challenged monarcy and all the nicely laid plans of the British to pack the constituent Assembly with its stooges, the princes nominees. Here was a movement whose leaders, ruling over the hearts of Muslim majority state, looked upto Congress leaders for support, defying the prevailing communal winds, they had been part of All India States peoples Conference, part of the national movement.... They expected that the national leadership would hail teir struggle and back it with all their strength. But they were destined to deep disillusionment."

"During the quite Kashmir movement, in All India State peoples Conference session, which was attended by Nehru, Sardar Patel and the Kashmir delegates among others.... Sardar was blunt. He so severly criticised Sheikh for starting the Quite Kashmir movement, he caustically commented... riduiculed the underground struggle of the Kashmir fighters. One of them, Bakashi Ghulam Mohammad who was present

angrily replied : "We the Kashmiri delegates, have not come over here to beg for help from any body if he be the biggest leader of the Congress working Committee.[5]

M.A. Jinnah condemned the movement and denounced the agitation, and called it "an agitation of a few malcontents out to destroy law and order."....and advised..... Kashmiri Muslim's.... 'to beware of teir enemies and not be misled by slogans in Kashmir and stampeded into an action, which would gravely imperil their interests... All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference denounced the agitation.... Moulvi ousuf Shah also supported the government, calling the Maharaja a shadow of God on earth."[6]

It is irony and gross distortion of history that Pak media : Today extols the toadies, traitors of Kashmir freedom struggle and denounces the true liberationists.

In Jammu region, people being mostly apolitical, having monarchical sentiment, the Dogra ruling class, feudal lords and communlaist Maha Sabhaites gave a wrong twist to the movement and presented it as anti Dogra not a democratic and antifeudal struggle. Jammuites mostly remained a-loof from the struggle and played in the hands of lackeys of Maharaja. This unevenness in the Political consciousness of the region, played havoc in the shape of communal riots in Jammu in 1947. Both regions on the eve of partition, interms of political consciousness mismatched to each other. The only party having a principled stand on the Kashmir movement and on the right of self determination fo the people was communist Party of India.

3

The Peculiarities of Kashmir' Accession — 1947

The peculiarities of Kashmir Accession 1947 (Role of Mount Batton, Gandhi, Patil, Nehru, Hari Singh and S.M. Abdullah)

On the eve of great storm in the sub-continent when country was about to be divided and the establishment of Pakistan was certain and reality, Kashmir State gave an appearance of uneven and mismatched political development and stage of consciousness. The third constituent of State, Ladakh region was a land locked region and deep in Political slumber. Jammu Muslim constituting 53 per cent of Muslim population was culturally, emotionally and politically under the sway of Muslim Conference and Pakistani sentiment except a few oasis in political desert. Hindu communalism and R.S.S. thriving under the patronage of feudal vested interests were having their hey-day on the political scene. In Kashmir the democratic struggle lead by nationalists had isolated Mirwaiz Maulvi Yousuf Shah main Prop of Muslim reactionary politics. National Conference emerged a solid and unchallanaged political party on the state's political scene, The political health of party was such that it was aspiring to wipe out the last remanents of communalism throught the state and consolidate the nationalists and secular forces.

India was divided on 15th August, Kashmir leaders and entire cadre of National Conference was behind the bars. In August 1947, Mahatma Gandhi visited Kashmir. It was to be his first and only visit to Kashmir. In a statement made on August 6th after his visit, Gandhi said, "the will of the

Kashmiris was the supreme law in Kashmir." (The Hindustan Times, August 7, 1947). "Gandhi had consistantly upheld the view that India's retention of Kashmir would certify Hindu-Muslim co-existence in India proper. He categorically disagreed with the argument that Indian Muslims require state of their own. In this context a statement made on December 12th, 1947 is of relevance.

"It is on Kashmir soil that Islam and Hinduism are being weighed. If both pull their weight correctly and in the same direction, the chief actors will cover themselves with glory... My sole hope and prayer is that Kashmir should become a beacon light to this benighted sub-continent."[7]

The release of Kashmir leaders and workers from jails started from the last week of September till 15th october 1947. Workers conventions were held and all J&K Working Committee met in Srinagar.

None dare call it conspiracy.

There were contradictory approaches to the problem of accession and at variance with each other. The national Conference evolved the formula of assertion of Sovereignty of People of state as primary demand to be followed by the decision on the question of the accession.

On 15th August 1947, when India became free, three states had not acceded to the Indian Union. They were Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junahgarh. The National leadership, whatever the inclinations of individuals among them, gave the Maharaja a long rope. No one bothered to consult the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

"Pakistan has mxied power with subversion and political manupulation.... while the ruler temporised, armed rebellion broke out in July 1947, in the Sudhnuti tract of Poonch Province, the west central part of the state... It was foreign inspired and was part of Pakistani assault on Kashmir... It's leaders proclaimed independence and established the first Azad Kashmir Government..... the rebellion was receiving Pakistani support and weapons."[8]

"In the far north-west of Kashmir, a territory administered by British as the Gilgit Agency was nominally handed back to the Maharaja in late July... A week latter, the Gilgities occupied Baltistan, the area lying to the east, giving Pakistan control over a large slice of strategic mountain country in northern Kashmir. In November, the tiny principalities of chitral Swat and Dir proclaimed their independence and announced they were following Pakistan. On November 4th, the principalities of Hunza and Nagar joined Pakistan.

It is true that rebellions spirit in these areas of state was not only the handiwork of Pakistan, there were many factors, heavy taxation, feudal oppression and apathy of administration having no accountability. "The revolt in Poonch (the Sudhans) was a straight forward peasent revolt, the religious beliefs of the participants being irrelevant; and uprising of the oppressed against ancient feudal tyrannies."[9]

Maharaja Harising temporises, Pakistan suprns the idea of independence, insurgency begins.

The Tass corespondence, Mr. A. Qrestov, stationedlin Delhi during these days of turmoil characterized the situation, the beginnings of insurgency in Kashmir in correct and realistic perspective :

"The rulers of Pakistan, prompted by their British Advisers tried to fan the Kashmiris hatred for the Maharaja into a struggle against all Hindus generally. During this period Hindu-Muslim conflicts instigated by British Secret agents, were causing bloodshed in both the newly created dominions"[10]

While Maharaja Hari Singh temporized, toyed with the idea of independence, the Pakistani campaign reflected a consistent and single minded attempt to capture as much of Kashmir as possible and strengthens its foothold in the state at all costs. The insurgencies were not aimed at liberation and idealism to wean away people from feudal yoke and oppression.

"Pakistan has less reason to claim that it fought for the welfare of the Kashmairis. If there was idealism behind involvement of Pakistanis in the Poonch revolt and the

insurgency of Jammu, the campaign waged by tribal forces, and in many respects by the Pakistani army, was for conquest. The record is clear that, until the major raids began, India had no move to enter Kashmir with military force. The Pakistanis however, were involved in paramilitary action in July to captialize upon the Gilgit upheaval and to annex Baltistan. This was rather a clear indication that Karachi would not tolerate an independent Kashmir, despite Jinnahas insistance that the princely rulers could adopt such a position. Gilgit was important strategically, far from it Pakistani controlled forces latter threatened both Srinagar and Leh. Thus, pro Karachi forces were in a position to threaten or to assault Srinagar some weeks before the time, when Pakistan latter claimed, the Indians were intriguing to win the state politically. In July, Sheikh Abdullah was in Jail, Nehru was under the threat of imprisonment if he visited the state, National Conference leaders were in custody and the Maharaja was still trying to hold on to his power."[11]

In 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh was in great dilemma about accession to either of the dominions-India or Pakistan. The Prince ruled a preserve of the little more than 4 million people, of whom over 3 million, or 77.11 percent were muslims, 20.12 percent Hindus and 1.64 percent Sikhs. The Muslims population in vale of 90 percent in Jammu it was 53 percent. An enclave of some 50,000 Budhhists in Ladakh had little political significance. To steer the ship of state smoothly in turbulent political and communal waters, Sir Hari Singh, maintained independence. This dream of independence, has been a consistent dream of certain sections of Kashmiris over the status of Kashmir since 1947. There is no historical evidence that Kashmir had ever been independent except on the collapse of Mogul rule in the 18th century, Kashmir declared independence, alongwith other remote regions. This lasted, only briefly, about eleven months, and the state-mountain territory was conquered by Afghans, in 1752. The cruel Afghan rule was followied by sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In 1846, after the Sikh defeat, Gulab Singh bought Kashmir from the British, under the treaty of Amristsar. The

Dogra dynasty established a semi-independent state of J&K. Sir Hari Singh keeping in view the complexity of situation in the state, wanted to perpetuate the independence and entered into stand-still agreement with both the dominions.

The muslim Conference and Pro-Pak forces in the state, Jinnah and his countrymen regarded Kashmir as economically and racially part of Pakistan and expected the automatic absorption of the state at partition.

G.M. Sadiq's unsuccessful mission to Pakistan (Lahore)

The National Conference in Kashmir, irrespective of the fact that the majority of its population being muslim, having a powerful democratic movement, whose leaders had been waging a determined battle against Islamic fundamentalism and separatism was determined to defend secular and democratic traditions. Even at this critical juncture, they played cool and tried to evolve a balanced approach, not compromising on principles. Once out of jail, "National conference deputed G.M. Sadiq to meet the Pakistani leaders in Lahore, and ask for time for all issues to be cooly descussed within the movement before a decision was taken about accession. Assurances were also sought from them that Kashmir would enjoy full internal autonomy in case the state decided to accede to Pakistan. It turned out that Pakistan leaders had such profound contempt for Kashmiris that they only made court observation that they were all muslims, implying they did not recognize any sub divisions among Muslims on the basis of language and culture. The reply was very well understood by the National Conference leaders, and therefore they could at once make up their minds how to face the new menancing situation."[12]

There is a charge from Pakistan and asection of Pro-Pak Kashmiris that Indian leaders went to Kashmir to persuade the Maharaja to acceds to India. There is no documentary evidence to prove or refute the charge. After his visit to Kashmir, Gandhi had written a not to Nehru, in which he has indicated "that he went to Kashmir to probe into the matter and that he stressed the need to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir, in his

discussion with Maharaja Hari Singh."[12]

"Pyare Lal has recorded that, as early as August 1947 when Gandhi visited Kashmir, he had a meeting with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in which he discussed the prospects of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir."[14]

Lord Mountbatton paid a visit to Srinagar to advise the Maharaja to accede to one of the dominions by August 14. But the viceroy did not pressurise, as used in other circumstances during this period, and he left Kashmir without obtaining a decision. But according to Lt. Col. Bhagwan Singh, private Secretary to Hari Singh, Mountbatton tried to persuade Maharaja to join Pakistan.

"Through Sardar Patel, the perspective Indian rulers had assured the British they would not oppose the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan".[15]

"Had the Maharaja acceded to Pakistan before 15th August 1947, the future government of India had allowed me to give His Highness an assurance that no objection whatever would be raised by them. Had His Highness acceded to India by August 14th, Pakistan did not then exist and therefore could not have interfered. The only trouble that could have been raised was by non accession to either side, and this was unfortunately the very course followed by the Maharaja."[16].

"We had no territorial ambitions in Kashmir. If the invasion by the raiders had not taken place, I can say in the face of any contradiction that the government of India would have left Kashmir alone"[17].

4

Crisis and Crash

(Pak Armed Intervention in Kashmir)

On the fateful night of 24 October, 1947 tribals — Afridis, Mahsuds, 'Mehmendees', well equipped in Pakistan with sophisticated weapons, crossed the borders and launched well planned attack and threatened the city of Srinagar.

In a tense atmosphere, raiders having finished Baramulla, they moved onwards and were expected to reach the capital by October 26. The Viceroy agreed to the accession of Kashmir to India but also stressed his opinion that accession should be contingent upon a plebiscite to determine the views of people after the raiders had been driven out of the state. Nehru and his cabinet agreed.

The Maharaja accepted the terms. He signed the instrument of accession on the night of October 26, and subsequently the accession was accepted by Indian Government. On October 27, military was airlifted with surprising efficiency. The city of Srinagar was saved.

However, Mountbatton succeeded in preparing Nehru to refer the Kashmir Problem to United Nations. Gandhi and Patel opposed this move of Nehru. Authentic documents reveal that Gandhi and patil opposed this move, expressing apprehension, that at the U.N. considerations of international power politics rather than merit would determine the attitude of the countries towards the Kashmir issue. "Gandhi it is said saw the draft before it was sent to the U.N. and revised it to remove the suggestion of an independent Kashmir.[18] India took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. in December, 1947.

The Communist Party of India in its statement in January 1948 : Nothing can be more suicidal then reference to the Security Council of the U.N.O."

In the various resolution of U.N.O., Anglo-American block supported the plea of plebiscite made by Pakistan. A UNICIF Commission visited Kashmir, followed by Sir Own Dixon, Graham and Macknaughton.

The Kashmiris glorious chapter of history, the valiant resistance of Kashmiris against the raiders, demonstration of communal amity and organisation of resistance by forming National Militia and guarding of bridges offices, factories, schools, by National Conference volunteers gave a surprise to the raiders. "It was they who fought for accession to India and when the Pakistani rulers sent armed tribal raiders to seize Kashmir, they fought back and saved the state for secularism."-[19]

By a proclaimation of Maharaja, S.M. Abdullah was appointed Emergency Chief Administrator and Emergency administration was established. Some radical agrarian reforms, Inducscos and formation of cultural Front, were undertaken, which enthsed the people for a while.

Trumpting of U.N. Resolutions across the border through Pakistan Media, revived the activities of dormant Muslim-Conference workers and pro-Pak segments of population.

About this lattent mood, Pt. Nehru was quite aware of this change of mood among Kashmiris. On May 30, 1948 he wrote to Sardar Patel, "I am worried about the internal political situation in Kashmir... the morale of the civil population is rather low. Pakistan's radio from Muree carries on various and intensive propaganda and there is nothing to meet on our side."

How communal gang up crushed the spring of 1947?

"Meanwhile a vigorous anti-Muslim Movement begun in J&K during August. Two months latter the state was heavily infiltrated by Hindu fanaties of the R.S.S. trained sikh fighters

and other elements. Thousands of Muslims fled the area and many were killed.

The 30 per cent among the population sought refuge in P.O.K. It is alleged that official administration was involved in this communal violence."[20]

It sent shock waves to Kashmir Valley. On the contrary at the time of riots, refugees from Sialkote, Rajouri, Poonch, Muzzafarabad, Rawalpindi and Hazara, were warmly received in Srinagar by N.C. volunteers. There were some 23000 of them in this oasis of communal peace in a raging hall fire around it.

The plebiscite formula of Anglo-Americans and communal riots in Jammu, put Kashmir patriots on defensive. They felt sandvi-ched between communal riots raging in Punjab and Jammu and mounting propaganda offensive from Pakistan., P.O.K. and pro-Pak forces in Kashmir.

The movement was in process of disintegration because of the untoward incidents in the rest of the state and the reactionary attitude of Home Ministry, lacking perspective in new situations and engrossed in routine sterotype, British imperialist approaches.

These were the first seeds of insurgency sown by forces hostile to movement?

The Indian ruling class did not well appreciate the aspirations of Kashmiris who opted for accession to India in 1947. It seems that the Indian ruling class, much more so Indian bureaucracy, has willingly inherited the border regime strategy (Past imperialist hangover) of the British and developed on it. The border regions were considered militarily sensitive areas in terms of the security of the Indian empire. Even limited democratic process were curbed in the border regions. Delhi kept the local power, elites flushed with money and divided and ruled over them without the problem faced in the rest of country. Because of Pakistan hostility in North West and Chinese in North East we virtually accepted the security perception of the British. This might have some validity till the mid sixties. It does not seem to be valid any longer. Internal

subversion is the real danger. It has its roots in domestic policies.

The roots must be destroyed. This implies more democratization, more autonomy, more development and not the creation of puppets – a post independence growth, lacking pre-independence values, petty politicians maintained with easy money, who can be manipulated at will from Delhi. Such politicians were in abundance in Kashmir, from, Shamas-ud-Din, Mir Qasim and his group of cohorts.

When the entire mass of Kashmiri armed patriots were resisting the invasion with their might and mien, the tin headed, pen pushers in the Home Ministry in Delhi were trying to get inspiration from dusty files of British intelligence to meet the situation. It cannot help them, as there was no precedent in the files like Kashmir situation. For them Kashmir was problems of law and order and external defence.

On the top the tussle between Patel and Abdullah started – Bakshi G.M. the deputy prime minister was called to Delhi to comb out patriots from National Militia, the progressive edge of Cultural Front was to be blunted and political cadre (qualified) not to be infiltrated into the administration. On the question of privileges of Maharaja, there were acute differences between Patel and Abdullah.

Orestov, Tass Correspondent wrote in Delhi :— "Where were the enthusiasm and fighting spirit that had carried away towns folk and peasants? It has given way to disillusionment and despondency....

Anglo-American support to Pakistan, further raised morale among Kashmiri secessionists. The rigit of self-determination was loosely used to mobilize the public opinion throughout the world, in particular among Muslim nations. In its basic resolution on Kashmir of January 5, 1949, the Unted Nations formally ruled out as the proper phrase to apply to the only alternatives ever given to the kashmiris : Choice between one of the two adjacent countries – India and Paksitan. In its basic resolution of Kashmir of January 5, 1949 the United Nation formally ruled out independence and limited to Kashmiris to

annexation by either India or Pakistan.

"The British cunning approach to the problem and their Pakistani allies, however, succeeded in transforming the status of state into a continuing bone of contention and disruption among the patriotic sections of Kashmiris. This it continues even to-day after four decades of independence."[21]

Kashmir Constituent Assembly; Article 370

Relations between Centre and State got hotup immediately after the convening of constituent Assembly elected in 1951 when Dr. Graham was attempting to solve the Kashmir impasse. On the issues to be decided by constituent Assembly. S.M. Abdullah was clear, forthright and unhesitating. The pressure from U.N.O. dominated by Anglo-American block, made Government of India to waver, and express that the Constituent Assembly's decisions be deemed the 'opinions' expressed by the representatives of state — On the major question of accession confronting the international organisation. The constituent Assembly affirmed Kashmiris autonomy over all matters except defence, foreign affairs and Communication. In April 1952, Sheikh repeated this point and declared in a speech that the Constitution of India could not be applied to Kashmir. On July 24, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that Kashmir would be conferred special Status Article 370 different from any other state.

"But within the country, approaches were not similar. A section in the Congress, hindu revivalists were opposed to this status granted to Kashmir. Their view was integrationist and unitary. The main opposition to the Special Status came from Jammu, hindu dominated districts. The opposition was Organised by Jana Sangh and its leader Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and in Jammu the agitation was spearheaded by a communal organisation Praja Parishad."[22]

The Delhi Kashmir Agreement

An ideal picture of state Centre relationship. The Delhi Kashmir agreement of 1952, was an example of ideal State-Centre relationship, especially in the circumstances in which state was placed-internationally disputed issue and bone of

contention between India and Pakistan.

The Delhi Kashmir agreement pleased neither Pakistan nor the Anglo-American Block. For them it was a fresh obstacle in their path. They had no interest in the democratic gains of the Kashmiri people within the Indian Union. Predictably, the Praja Parishad was bitterly opposed to the agreement, and launched a compaign against it. They want India to be a unitary state.[23]

Kashmir Pro-Pak and successionists forces were thoroughly demoralised.

The Delhi Kashmir agreement envisaged, the Central Government's authority would extend to the three subjects covered by the instrument of accession, and residuary powers would be vested, unlike the other states, in the Kashmir Government... The Central Government could also intervene only on the request or with the connivance of State Government.

Nehru at the time of Delhi Kashmir Agreement made it clear to the impractibility of independent Kashmir. There was cause of concern to the Government of India on the apprehension that S. M. Abdullah had hinted to the 'Switzerland Model' for Kashmir too.

Sheikh Sahib Spoke on March 23, 1952 :

"Suppose for the sake of argument that the people do not ratify this accession. The position that would follow will not be that as matter of course Kashmir becomes a part of Pakistan. No, that would not happen legally and constitutionally. What would happen in such an eventuality would be that the state would regain the status which it enjoyed immediately preceding the accession. "Differences cropped up between Nehru and Abdullah on the question of dealing with this agitation (Jan Sangh and Praja Parishad) which led to still further intensification of the differences on the status of Kashmir." Abdullah argued that there was no middle course between full integration and a full autonomy '(which was his euphemism for independence) and, as the majority in Kashmir would not accept the just alternative, there was no choice but to accept the second, which now seemed to Abdullah in contrast to his

attitude even two months before, to be practicable').

The prelude to insurgency 1953 episode

The cabinet meet in absentia of PM S.M. Abdullah, Abdullah was not only dismissed but also arrested. "Nehru reported later," after they had taken place. He confessed that it left a bad taste in his mouth, but asserting that the men on the spot knew best, as head of the Central Government he accepted ultimate responsibility for what had happened, although part of it had happened, although part of it at least had been done without his knowledge..." what projected here as a tragedy for him personally was in fact a tragedy for the whole country, its popular and secular democracy. The Abdullah Government in Kashmir was a symbol of secularism in India in contrast to the Islamic theocracy of Pakistan. It was also one state government in the whole country which was implementing many of the progressive measures advocated by the left movement, land reforms above all. The dismissal, arrest and detention of the head of the government in sch a state was a blot on the fair name of the secular and democratic policy in the country. It also worsened the relations between the Indian Union and Pakistan. The place of Kashmir in the Indian union and the treatment meted out to the elected head of the government of that state made Kashmir a fastering sore in Indo-Pakistan relations between the state of Kashmair and the centre. The legacy left to his successors by Nehru in this respect haunted..." is today haunting Shri A.B. Vajpayee.[24]

S.M. Abdullah's fall embittered the relations of Kashmir with centre and Jammu. A regional conflict ensured. It promoted communalism, muslim communalism was sharpened. The majority of Secular base and valiant cadre turned secessionist with the formation of plebiscite front by Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg an associate of S.M. Abdullah. Muslim conference and pro-Pak forces felt vindicated in their assertions. Pro-Pak propaganda beaming across the border was effective and most popular. It was expected that after accession to Indian Union, the secular forces in the state would get strengthened and consolidated, but 1953 episode proved otherwise-disintegration. There was total alientation of the

Muslims in Kashmir and in particular of its youth.

The installation of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was a regime of corruption, repression and cynicism. The whitteling down and errosion of state autonomy was initiated by the new Prime Minister of Kashmir, new position was endorsed in an order issued by President on May 14, observing the legalities of article 370. A constitution was drafted and adopted on Nov. 19, 1957.

The charge of independence against S.M. Abdullah however be incorrect to consider this to be the sole reason for the political crisis in Kashmir.

The Nehrus government was very much under the pressure of Hindu Chauvnism. Abdullah's off repeated Charge, that the Indian leaders in New Delhi (except Gandhi, Nehru) were Hindu communalists was not baseless.

The 1953 episode, was the prelude to the insurgency now prevailing in Kashmir. U.S.A. was consistent in her policy of supporting Pakistan, and was not unaware of Pakistan's obsession with India. Behind the smoke-screen of loud talk of seeking India's cooperation and Indo-Pakistan cordiality, U.S.A. tended to support Paksitan's cause for hostility towards India from the very beginning.

The Forging of military alliances between the U.S.A. and Pakistan brought sharp deterioration in Indo-Pak relations. It resulted in Nehru's refusal to abide by the U.N. resolution on Kashmir, Particularly related to plebiscite.

India had already evolved a peaceful solution of the problem and finalised a resolution of the Kashmir problem when the military alliance packet between USA and Pakistan was being put together.

Nehru visited Karachi in July 1953 and Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Ali paid visit to New Delhi in August. The proposed solution included holding of plebiscite in Kashmir in April 1955. But the US-Pak Military ties changed the Indian mind. (Escart Reid, Envoy to Nehru, 1981, pp 118-122 also

Gopal, 11 pp 184-185. In the interest of Indo-Pak Amity and peaceful resolution of the Kashmir problem-the much avowed objectives of U.S. Policy-the U.S. was not even willing to accept India's suggestion that "postponement of actual grant of militaty aid to Pakistan for one year be announced." Reod, p 123 Thus U.S. factor sabotaged the Kashmiri solution and main accomplice was Pakistan.

The Anglo-American position on Kashmir preferred a Kashmir that was independent and under their influence or alliance. The proposals made during 1961-63 by the U.S. and U.K. on the resolving of Kashmir issue reflected this preference. Pro-Pak Forces and some segments of National Conference were enchanted and got infatuated by the slogan of independence.

State autonomy envisaged in the provision of article 370, it was in consonance as conceived in the New Kashmir Programme of the National Conference. Hindu Chauvinists from the very inception of this provision were opposed to it.

"Abdullah for part was always zealous of this special status of his state. No intrusion would therefore be possible into that special status so long as he continued to be at the helm of affairs in the state. As a matter of fact, it was after his dismissal that many of the privileges which the state enjoyed under the constitution were taken away.The result of the action against Abdullaha and his Govt. thus proved to be the beginning the end of special status of Kashmir."

"The personal friendship for and the political appreciation of the role played by Abdullah in struggle for secularism did not prevent Nehru from adopting a course which amounted to an attack on the State's autonomous position written in the constitution."[25]

5

Origin of Degeneration — Disharmony, Corruption and Cynicism

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in 1954 by endorsing Presidential order on May, 14, 1954 brought the state legally into India. The Constituent Assembly in the State on November 17, 1956, adopted the constitution of J&K State and this was made effective as from January 26, 1957, the Independence day. The Act was made 'irrevocable.' The process of integration was finalized in 1960, when the Indian Supreme Court assumed jurisdiction over the state on January 20, 1960.

The post 1953 phase of Kashmir's political history was full of disharmony, cynicism and inefficiency. There was total alienation of the muslim intelligentsia, youth, towns people and urbanities. Coup-De-etate of 1953, was lack of confidence in the masses, as well as individuals, and the party. Empiricism of leadership in 1953 compelled them to choose the path of least resistance. Bakshi, hero of 1953 was politician of golden mean, who did not hesitate to resort to the most extreme measures. Emergence of Bakshi in Kashmir situation was not an accident but a social phenomenon utterly exceptional.

In reality a political reaction set in (communal, secessionist, intensity in the activities of pro-Pak subversive forces) under Bakshi's stewardship. the social situation and ideological dispositions of various classes of society may be termed thermidorian reaction. It resembled an obscene and rowdy bar

room burlesque. He was needed by all-tired impoverished radicals, by the bureaucrats, the kulaks, the up-starts, the sneaks, the sychophants, by all the worms that are crawling out of upturned soil of manouvred social upheaval. Bakshi quickly became the energetic and unchallenged dictator of Kashmir state. He dominated the National Conference Party and inaugurated the regime of corruption and was regarded with extreme bitterness by the Kashmiri masses.

In the year 1955, a queer political development took place, S.M. Abdullah, desired to have a dialogue on the post 1953 political developments in the state and wrote a letter to G.M. Sadiq, President of Constituent Assembly, to allow him to participate in the proceedings of constituent Assembly and present his views on the constitutional affairs. Letters were exchanged called 'Sheikh-Sadiq correspondence.' Bakshi establishment got unhinged. In case Abdullah was given opportunity a considerable section of members would have wavered, who were kept intact through intimidation, bread, route permit, licence, contract, lease, subsidy, loan surplus and luxury. Mirza Afzal Beg, associated of Abdullah was released for a few days, attended some sittings of Assembly, he raised certain pertinent questions regarding 'Delhi kashmir' agreement, was rearrested immediately. Sadiq set certain pre-conditions for permitting S.M. Abdullah to attend Assembly Session – acceptance of Presidential order of May, 1954, was one of the main issues. S.M. Abdullah declined to accept the same, it is sad that this historical dialogue initiated by S.M. Abdullah was turned down by G.M. Sadiq. The Home Ministry Government of India was back stage manager of this melo-drama.

There could be no thaw in the already existing frozen, stagnant political atmosphere and situation showed further signs of deterioration. It is said, that Nehru desired to reopen the issue, and immediately after arrest of S.M. Abdullah had sent his envoys to call on Abdullah at Kud jail.

The National Conference in 1957 — the Split or Decay

The dissension began to surface within the ruling clique. A lengthy correspondence — "Bakshi-Sadiq Correspondence" a

series of communications between Sadiq and Bakshi reflected the actual state of affairs obtaining in the state. It accused Bakshi of perpetuating authoritarianism in the government and party organisation. The phase as depicted in the letters of Sadiq was a "transition movement from self sacrifice to self betterment. In post 53 period, Bakshi emerged as the organizer the distributor of jobs, the master of bureacracy- both in the government and party. He found droves of supporters, old decadent feudal elements, traditional Mullas (Muslim priests) — erstwhile enemies of movement and communal reactionaries.

The Origin of Bureaucratic Degeneration : Parety and State

The period was heyday for bureaucracy (especially Muslim). The Muslim bureaucracy always waged rabid struggle against nationalist and progressive ideas, which threatened to jeopardise, their privileges. Their nights were so colourful that description of Napoleonic generals in Emile-Ludwigs- biography of Napoleon is not so much provocative.

The civil rights and liberties of common citizens were violated by street brawlers and goons. The Bakshi was literally packing the party organs, with workers, delegates, office bearers unswervingly loyal to him personally.

There was a split in the National Conference and Democrtic National conference led by G.M. Sadiq, a pro-Indian opposition was born. Nehru dashed to Srinagar and expressed disapproval of its formation in a public meeting. Left gave unqualified support to this new oppositionist trend led by Sadiq. Pak Field Intelligence was taken a back, seeing in it an emergence of pro-Indian democratic opposition relegating into background pro-Pak alternatives - Plebiscite front and Political Conference. Muslim Intelligentsia was scared of the democratic National conference, as usual they were averse to a democratic and secular formation in the state. All these forces united against Sadiq's new initiative, people were told to be indifferent to this new political development. Pro-Pak and secessionist forces drew sadistic pleasure and enjoyed this in fighting and confrontaiton between these two nationalist parties — Bakshi led National conference and Sadiq's Democratic National

conference. Muslim intelligentsia, Muslim bureaucracy Mulla's were rabidly anti-Sadiq for his left and pronounced unwavering pro-Indian stance. The leadership of Democratic National Conference being amorphous; an amalgam of centrist and extreme left forces was a rudderless ship. Sadiq's pragmatism always compelled him to choose the path of least resistance.

He brusied his integral, honest, Jacobine career in his quest for success. His close associates were D.P. Dhar a declasse, decadent feudal turned patriot, deft in the art of vicious mockery, a floating atom, devoid of any base among people and Mir Qasim a shallow patriot and an opportunist. This trimvuriate, led the Democratic National conference.

While Democratic Nation Conference being in opposition, S.M. Abdullah after remaining in jail for five years without formal charges placed against him was released in 1958. He made a frontal attack on Bakshi regime and raised the slogan of plebiscite.

S.M. Abdullah-the Unarmed

G.M. Sadiq and Indian left tried to persuade S.M. Abdullah to desist from beating the dead horse of plebiscite and join the maintstream. M.L. Misri a prominent leader of Democratic National Conference was deputed to call on S.M. Abdullah and convince him to join this popular front for democracy and secularism of which he was the pioneer in the state. Abdullah declined the offer. He was arrested again after three months liberty, and eventually charged with treason. By refusing the offer of Sadiq, he missed the great historicla opportunity. Had Abdullah accepted the offer the history of Kashmir would have been different a healthy democratic movement would have taken rebirth.

Dismayed, having vacillating associates, sandviched between a ruthless administration, Bakshi toughs, goons and indifference of people resulting from the directions of Pak Field Intelligence, the organisation collapsed under the pressure of its own compulsions too. It is said that such an experiment of pro-Indian opposition ended in fiasco.

6
The Great Holy Relic Upheaval – 1964

Abdullah Freed Bakshi in prison.

The great holy relic Upheaval 1964. In September 1963, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was Kamrajed under Kamraj Plan evolved by Kamraj-a vetern congress leader of south. Bakshi installed Shams-ud-Din, his protege as his successor. Prior to this new development on October 4, 1963, Bakshi as Kashmir's Prime Minister had taken certain measures designed to integrate the state further. It aroused the protest of people and Pakistan raised a hue and cry. These new policy directives initiated by Bakshi were not adopted by the legislature. Mr Gulzari Lal nanda, Home Minister, announced in the Indian Parliament on November 27 that Kashmir had been 'fully integrated into India.' Nehru also told the legislators that there had been a 'gradual errosion' of Kashmir's special status which would be allowed to continue.

On the feteful day of December 27, 1963, a great mass upsurge erupted over reports that sacred relic of the Prophet had been stolen. It was said to have been stolen by thieves who crept back into the shrine and restored it a week later. During the intervening period, wailing throngs of about one lakh swirled through the icey streets of Srinagar, and the law and order machine in the Kashmir Valley was pralysed.

Rise of Muslim Priests (Mullaism)

The incident of holy relic brought back Mulla's (Muslim priestly class) after about five decades on the stage of political front and they emerged as vital force in the politics of state

and continue to remain even today. Political leaders and priests organized what was called Holy relic Action Committee. Political leaders and priests turned the agitation into a political platform demanding release of S.M. Abdullah. After crisis being over, it got converted into Action Committee, maintained a continual political compaign for release of S.M. Abdullah. After crisis being over, it got converted into Action Committee, maintained a continual political compaign for release of S.M. Abdullah and for a plebiscite to determine the kashmir imbroglio. Pakistan extended support to this committee, and already liasion with Azad Kashmir had been established. Besides moral support, Pakistan sup-plied funds for committees expensive activities. Pakistan field Intelligence Service was active in the valley.

The Principal leaders of the Action Committee were Maulana Masoodi, Maulana Noor-ud-Din and the prominent freedom Fighter G.M. Kara. All of them were agreed on the demand of Right of Self Determination to the Kashmiris. However, this leadership was considered a moderate one. They were not favouring violence and maintained communal amity during this period of riotous turmoil, through which Kashmir was passing.

But within the womb of Action Committee a new force was visible. It was represented by youths and students. They were in search of arms to fight India. There was internal bickering on this question. It was the prominent personalities of the leadership, who were maintaining a tight rein on students and other youths. The age and authority of M. Sayeed Masoodi and G.M. Kara - a moderate leadership that prevented more anti-Indian expression upto mid 1965.

Seeds of Total Violence Sown :

But there was a qualitative transformation in the thinking over strategy and style of agitation and demonstration. A revolutionary, militant organisation was taking shape among youth who were thinking on evolving a new technique-a violent revolt and preparations for armed struggle.

This was the second phase since 1953, when youth had already resolved that Indian police and army could be challenged, and procurement of arms is imperative for a successful movement-an armed struggle against the state. In this new context, Nehru remarked that "..... he could see no reason why Abdullah had to be arrested and deplored that they did not have the courage to release him. His effort in April 1962, to secure Abdullah's release had been thwarted by the Bakshi Ministry and Intelligence Burea." It as only subsequently, after Bakshi was removed from the Chief Ministership., as part of the process of implementing the Kamraj Plan, that conspiracy case against S.M. Abdullah was withdrawn.[25] The Bakshi dominated government, run by Shams-ud-Din, was removed in 1964, no doubt under the centres pressure. G.M. Sadiq a man avowedly pronounced Indian and the lefttist was installed as a new Chief Ministe.r It is a fact that conditions improved somewhat under G.M. Sadiq. Agitation launched by Action Committee did not abate. It began a civil disobedience campaign, based on Ghandian teachnique-non-violence. The new Delhi, not comprehending the complixity of situation in its entirety, the urge of youth to take up arms, its defiance of moderate leadership, Sadiq's restoration of civil liberties and rule of law to win the confidence and cooperation of the people and contain the extremism by these measures were watered down by the centre. Government of India resorted to further errosion of existing state autonomy. The Nationa Conference, a regional party, having traditions of freedom struggle, was dissolved and absorbed into the congress party under pressure and scheme was implemented by Mir Qasim and D.P. Dhar for petty politicking. To this posture Sheikh retailated by announcing total boycott, non-cooperation with congressities. Boycott was so effective that it covered all aspects of life.

The Erossion of Article 370 & The Politics of Alienation

With the new erosive steps to article 370 the impasse hardened. Mr nanda, Home Minister informed Lok Sabha on December 4, 1964 that new legal measures would make 'empty and redundant' the special status granted Kashmir under the 1950 constitution. "India extended two previously inapplicable

articles of the constitution to Jammu And Kashmir. The result, in the words of one observer, was to make 'the political integration of Kashmir... reality... one article (356) empowered the Indian President to extend his rule to Kashmir, as previously applicable to other Indian states. under this authority, the President can take control of any state, and administer it direclty, through an appointed representative, whenever in his opinion and that of the Governor the state leadership is unable to maintain an adequate and peaceful administration. The second article (357) abolished the terms of 'Chief of State' and Prime Minister which had been retained specifically to designate the two leading officials of Jammu and Kashmir. They became 'Governor's and 'Chief Minister' as was the practice elsewhere in India. This ended the legalistic distinction of Kashmir which had been implied by its authority to maintain its own Prime Minister."[26]

The timing of such a political integration was inoppotune, unwarranted. The Holy relic turmoil had created a restless dissatisfaction and extreme political protest in the attitude of people. There is possibility that initiation of such political measures have been timed merely by a bureaucratic process. On the face of it, New Delhi armed itself with the legal means of directly intervening in the state affairs through the application of presidents rule. The measures initiated were momentous. It indicated that New Delhi was keen in non-stop process of the erosion of special status.

It further injured the sentiments of Kashmir vale, they thought it another attack on their special status post 53 operation. "The situation in Kashmir provides important insights. Superficially one may say that because of article 370, Kashmir has now become unmangeable and insubordination regisn there. In actual practice, article 370 has not become in the way of constant meddling in the affairs of the state." "Whatever might have been the constitutional position, Kashmir in the last four decades has been the theatre of intervention. While in the constitutional sphere, many of the provisions of the Delhi agreement of 1952 were whittled down or by passed there has been blatant interference from the Centre, right upto the point

of tempering with the election of the State Assembly. It is such palapable interference in the matters of direct political import which not only undermkned the democratic structure in kashmir but has led to the disenchantment of a large body of youth with regard to the countrys democratic system itself. Hence many of them having lost confidence in the system, have turned to the gun and ultimately to secessionist militancy. Here is the case of too much interference leading to the danger of disintegration."[27].

S.M. Abdullaha Armed - Nehru Backed Abdullaha's mission to Pakistan :

Nehru was unahappy over dismissal of Abdullah from Chief Ministership, on his long incarceration. "Few occurences in India in the past few years had distressed him more than the continued detention of S.M. Abdullah; So it was his great relief that Abdullah was released... (S. Gopal, pp-83-84).

In 1964, S.M. Abdullah was released, and personal guest of Nehru. He stayed with him as old friend. The idea of confederation was discussed, as a solution to the Kashmir Question. S.M. Abdullah alongwith his associates, Moulvi Mohd. Sayeed and Mirza Afzal Beg went to Pakistan. There are various comments on his visit to Pakistan and reaction of President Ayub Khan to the proposal of confederation. Speaking of Nehru, the Sheikh said latter : My talks with him convinced me of his genuine desire to find a solution of the problem. At Nehru's request, Abdullah went to Pakistan and arranged a personal meeting between Ayub and Nehru. 'I was heartened to find, the Sheikh said, 'that Ayub Khan fully shared the desire for such a settlement." [28] Nehru passed away before meeting could take place, and the prospects of political solution were bleak. The indications are that, as Selig Harrison has written, "the Kashmir settlement envisaged by Nehru presupposed a larger Indo-Pakistani accommodation based on confederal relation between the two countries." The basis for settlement was consistent with Nehrus constant assertion that Kashmir was only part of the wider problems between the two countries. But obviously it required great readjustments and concessions

which appeared extremely difficult in view of the political encrustations of nearly two decades. Some in Delhi believe that the plan, which was never announced, was to create a confederation between India and Pakistan and semi-autonomous JKashmir. This proposal was made by Nehru's successors and rejected on May 31 by president Ayub. The rejection it is believed, was based upon Ayub's concern that granting semi-autonomy to Kashmir would stimulate irresistible separatism in East Pakistan."[29]

Sheikh Abdullahas views and statements caused a certain amount of resentment and dissatisfaction among public during his visit to Paksitan. The Pak Intelligentsia was not happy too.

"Friends, Not Masters,' book authored by Ayub Khan reiterates the same dieas about conederation and terms these proposal aburd. But Sheikh Sahib's reply to Ayub Khan, released to the Press, Sept. 1, 1967 does not confirm Ayub Khan's views. Nehru left it to them to agree on any suitable formula.

After the failure of S.M. Abdullaha's mision to Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir issue, Ayub Khan resorted to time worn technique of subversion. Military action for the time being was abandoned. Pak field intelligence had established its contact with 'Action Committee,' depending more on youth than moderate leadership. Anti-Indian rallies were organised and the storm centre Action committee in the heart of city, was conspiratorial headquarter of the organisation. The situation was explosive. The element of uncertainty was visible. It was difficult to measure the extent of discontent or to assess its potential. Beneath the clamouous surface, the insurgent forces in the city of Srinagar were restless. Such a situation obtained in the vale, on the eve of 1965 upheaval - mass infiltration of mujahideens into the state.

S.M. Abdullah the Outcaste

Immediately after the death of Nehru, and failure of his mission to Pakistan to solve the Kashmir impasse, S.M. Abdullah, again raised the slogan of 'Independence.' These

statements attracted the international gaze and publicity to New Delhis evident discomfort. He was bitterly critical of the constitutional changes announced in December 1964. He said, "that these changes clearly showed, that the Government of India, far from going ahead to revise the Kashmir policy initiated by Panditji, was actually moving in the reverse direction, and, in fact undoing what had been done." (Abdullahas letter to Lal Bhadur Shastri).

S.M. Abdullah embarked on an international mission and went to Algiers to attend the abortive conference of Non-aligned nations, which was scheduled for June. On March 30, he called on Chou-En-Lai, the Chinese Prime Minister. He threatened to bring the Kashmir problem before the Algiers conference. Indian authorities were provoked on this collusion with the 'China,' and on his return S.M. Abdullah was rearrested in May 1965.

Operation Gibraltar — Mujahideen Infiltration and 1965 Indo-Pak War.

The action committee brought the mobs on to the streets, mobilizing people for Abdullahas release. Resort was taken to tough measures and about 1000 were arrested. Pakistan evolved a plan to utilize the 'Action Committee' as the spearhead of anti-India revolt.

Eighteen eyars after the first invasion of Kashmir President Ayub launched the second invasion on Kashmir in 1965 known as Gibraltar Forces. The core of the assault force for the Kashmir guerilla campaign was organized in Murree, West Pakistan on May 26, 1965.

The group was composed of eight to ten 'Forces,' each comprising six units of five companies (110 men in each company). Each company contained regular troops of the Azad Kashmir Army, which was part of Paksitan Army, alongwith Mujahid and Razakars irregulars. "Their instructions,' Shastri informed the United Nations, 'were to destroy bridges and vital roads, attack police stations, supply dumps, army head quarters and important installation,s inflict causalities on Indian

forces, and attack on V.I. Ps in Jammu and Kashmir."

Pakistan as usual denied any connection with the 'armed eruption' in Kashmir. Infiltrators were presented internationally as guerrila fighters, were "the sons of the Kashmir soil who have risen to defend themselves against Indian repression.

World knows, that the denials of Paksitan in the involvement of this adventure lacked sufficient evidence to convince people. Pakistan organised and launched the guerrilla attack.

In 1965, Pakistani adventure, when 5000 infiltrators had crossed the cease fire line, operation failed because the Kashmiri opposition leaders (S.M. Abdullah, Moulvi Syeed Masoodi, Mirza Afzal Beg and G.M. Din Kara) and people in general were in no mood to support armed revolt. The government led by Sadiq and his colleagues deftly dealt with the situation. The generalized concept of joining Pakistan was not sufficient to arouse the people to an attempt to overthrow Sadiq Government. General J.N. Choudhri, the then Army Chief in his post war book, 'Arms, Aims and Aspects'; 'that the Guerrila movement failed in the valley because none of the infiltrators were Kashmiris."

7
The Beginnings of Kashmiri Insurgency

This misfired guerilla adventure manned by Pakistan had its impact on the restless youth of Kashmir. It aroused their pseudo-rebellious romanticism to resort to terrorism, intimidation, explosion and assassination. They began to think in terms of romantic auro and martyrs crown of thorns can, indeed, evoke sympathy and compassion. The trend spread among the young, the under-educated, irate lumpen-proletarians and even pseudo intellectuals. A definite trend was established in propaganda literature and Press media too. D.P. Dhar, the then Home Minister of Kashmir State with other Kashmiri officials, claimed that Pakistan infiltrators gave arms to the students and incited them to violence. The students said they were acting on their own, and no infiltrators were involved. The Home Ministry in its analysis admitted that guerilla sabotage was possible.[30]

"On August 2, 1965 a senior Indian Army Commander told officers in Srinagar. That the next Phase of the Kashmir struggle would not be overt organised power but murder and terrorism."[31] These words proved prophetic.

At this conceiving stage of insurgency, Kashmiri Youth was in search of ideology, material support and opportunity. The ideologue was 'Jamaat,' material assistance began to pour in from I.S.I. (Pakistan) and other countries. The grist to the mill was provided by the Home Ministry (Government of India), manipulating dissidence within nascent, new born

Congress Party against Sadiq's politics of liberalisation. The dissident group was spearheaded by late D.P. Dhar, Syeed Mir Qasim and their cohorts.

The 1965 war was short term one and brief. This time, however, the ceasefire resulted in the USSR providing the forum for an agreement at Tashkant on January 10, 1966 and the subsequent withdrawal of opposing forces their pre-war positions by the deadline of Februayr 25, 1966.

G.M. Sadiq and Politics of Liberalization-Sadiq Qasim and D.P. Tussel

Sadiq's concept of power was 'the mandate of heaven' unpalatable to the mundane, sordid and humdrum politics of chicanery and uneven development. Sadiq being an isolationist tried to bring about bureaucratic reformist rule. But failed, did not comprehend limitations of border States politics with centres active interference. Sadiq was a leftist, a pronounced Indian, institutionalized administration, being incorruptible was eager to take urgent measures to curb rampant corruption, which had become a way of life during past regimes. His earstwhile close comrades in arms, D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim (except extreme left group who did not rejoin post Bakshi National Conference) did not share Sadiq's political culture, they were more legatees of Bakshi's political legacy - authoritarisanism, fattening their cohorts with favours and convert cadre into a praetorian guard. This dissident group having its essential features of dare devils did not feel shy of to circumvent the professional dangers of power - corruption etc. Such a political behaviour could not be possible in an atmosphere of liberalization and restoration of Rule of law, transforming palace politics into mass politics and a dialogue with the secessionists, pro Pak youth and most important of all with S.M. Abdullah. The institution of inquiry Commission for Ccorrupt actions against G.M. Bakshi ex-Prime Minister created an uneasiness among corrupt and contempt against corruption in general.

On these vital issues, a heated debate took place in the party and its parliamentary wing. The issues were, liberalization

or reversion to primitive magic, violating the administrative norms and adoption of hard line policy towards S.M. Abdullah. The choice being law or terror curbing civil liberties. In order to curry favour with crass hindu chauvnist sentiment this group gave demagoic statements such as "that under Sadiq's rule everything looks 'green' in the valley, implying thereby 'Pakistanis have taken over Kashmir.'

The legislature as it was constituted (majority of them were Mir Qasim President of PCC and D.P. Dhar's loyalists who generously gave mandates at the time of elections to their hirelings was by and large Pro. D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim and hostile to Sadiq's sound and healthy policies. The dissident group enjoyed implicit support of centre.

The major sections of this Assembly were at the beck and call of two strong man — D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim. Intelligence Bureau was favourably disposed to this faction of the party. Apparently Indira Gandhi played a neutral role and at the final stage of open cleavage the organisation intervened in favour of Sadiq. There were apparent reasons for such a role of Indira Gandhi. The writer of this article being in the Sadiq's Cabinet had advocated dissolution of the Assembly to be recommended to Governor by Sadiq. It was decided in a secret meeting, where Sadiq, the writer, G.L. Dogra were present. The draft was to be prepared by me. The same was prepared in consultation with Mufti Bhau-ud-Din the then — Law Secretary. Some how message reached New Delhi, and were surprized by such a move and its implications: Sadiq wavered. Sadiq was persuaded by Prime Minister to accommodate Mir Qasim's faction. The defectors returned to Jammu and temporary peace-restored in the party organisation.

I wrote to Sadiq, letter, received by him on 24-4-1970: "The political melodrama, enacted recently by some of our colleagues, brought into sharp focus the developing contradictions in the State Congress party. It is not accidental that this exercise in brinkmanship was attempted at a time when the policies of liberalization, ennunciated by you and developed by us under your leadership, had already started bearing fruit and

new perspectives of mass politics were opening up. It was the lost ditch battle on the partof the cavaliers of 'palace Revolution,' who being afriad ofthis perspective wanted to reverse this process and go back to the 'good old days' of ruling with the help of bribery on the one hand and repression on the other.. unity is important, but, it must be purposive. It should not lead to the liquidation of those who have been wedded to objectives..... in the name of unity, the government and the organisation should not be presented on a platter to those whose adherence to the principles of the organisation is, on the most generous view, rather doubtful. They may be accommodated at various levels, to serve a period of "apprenticeship," and called upon to give evidence of the 'change of heart.' Anything more would be disastrous for the policies of liberalization and would lkead to the emergence of syndicate (power brokers) in the State... Their plans call for the reversal of the policies associated with us - the policies of liberalization, democracy and socialism. In their scheme of things G.M. Sadiq and his policies have no place... bear these factors in midn while evolving unity formulae.'

In his reply dated 24 April 1970, G.M. Sadiq was ritualistically appreciative of the sentiments expressed by me in the letter. On the vital questions of policy and the concept of unity, he was evasive and maintained diplomatic silence.

After a while of honeymoon, political differences flared up on the policies of democratisation and the problems of party organisation and future electoral mandates in the coming elections. It was a question of 'who beats whom.'

In the expansion of cabinet the faction led by Mir Qasim had obtained more weightage. D.P. Dhar, was sulking and felt aggrieved as an ambassador in Moscow. Battle lines were being drawn on the eve of next election to be held in 1972. Sadiq was in search of allies in order to countervail the other faction led by Mir Qasim and D.P. Dhar.

What Sadiq would have Done, if He could have Lived

He was visualizing a new realignment – a broader front, to

contain both secessionist forces and dissidents. Through Moulvi Moh'd. Syeed Masoodi and G.M.D. Kara, he wanted to either engineer a split in Plebiscite front or pressurise S.M. Abdullah, who was in exile, to rejoin the mainstream - participation in elections. A split was brewing in his camp and a splinter group called 'Kharji Mahazi' was emerging to press for the same. Sadiq died in December, 1971 and whole plan failed to go off. Indira Gandhi, not even solicting the opinion of Pradesh Parliamentary party, nominated Mir Qasim as a Chief Minister D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim were now, 'Major-Domo' of the state politics — party and government.

In January 1972, Mir Qasim, after assuming Chief Ministership in a meeting held at Kashmir Guest House Delhi, took an important decision about party and politics to be pursued in post Sadiq phase. In the deliberations D.P. Dhar, Mufti Mohd Syeed and important cohorts participated.

The main decisions pertained to politics, party, and coming elections. Politics of liberalization was to be abandoned, S.M. Abdullah was to be contained through forging alliances with Jammat and Moulvi Farooq. Sadiq group was to be politically liquidated through subvtle manoeuvres in the elections. Extremely anti Abdul;lah splinter group to be inducted into the Congress — Abdul Rashid Kabli and Moulvi Iftikhar Ansari and others.

Prior to Sadiq's death in a snap parliamentary poll, 1971, S.M. Abdullah had agreed to participate in the elections in the Valley by supporting Mr. Shamim's candidature in Srinagar and opposing Bakshi G.M. ex-Prime Minister. Shamim was supported by Mrs. Abdullah, Moulvi Masoodi and G.M. Kara. Sadiq administration saw to it that elections were fair. Shamim won at the hustings. This election initiated a rethinking among secessionist about participation in the elections. Its main exponents were Moulvi Moh'd. Syed .Masoodi, G.M. Din Kara, Mubarak Shah. Before elections they lkeft for Delhi from Srinagar to call on S.M. Abdullah and convince him about the new strategy to be adopted. G.M.D. Kara and Moulvi Sayeed made a declaration about the policy of participation in elections on Id festival in a mammoth gathering

at Idgah Srinagar. On their way, G.M.D. Kara had a stop at Jammu and at a dinner hosted by Mr. Qasim at his official residence, apprised him about the new situation and left for Delhi. Mir Qasim and his coterie were taken by surprise, felt unnerved and uneasy, took a decision in huff to arrest G.M.D. kara. It is said that Mr. Haksar was aware of this new move of secessionists and was favourably disposed to it. It is not known yet, what was the attitude of Indira Gandhi to this development D.P. Dhar might have convinced her about the feasibility of arresting Katra, in order to forest-all this new trend and pro-election group within secessionists.

Mirqasim in alliance with Jamaat and Moulvi Farooq thawarted this move of Moulvi Moh'd Sayeed and others. Had manipulated to eliminate the Sadiq group in the elections.

It was heyday for Jamata t have their 7 members in the Assembly. A first instance in post independence India, a fundamentalist outfit having entry into the legislature. A process of consolidation of Jamaat had its beginnings. Mir Qasim's Education Minister, A. Gani Lone (A pro Jamaat Minister) pached educational institutions, schools and colleges with thousands of Jamaat cadre as teachers. Generous aid was provided to Jamaat run schools. Jamaat legislators writ was running large over the bureaucracy, developmental projects and administration. Moulvi Farooq was other ally, whose main function and assignment was to rebuke and castigate Abdullah in his public utterences.

Corruption was rampant. Interference of power brokers into the administrative affairs was absolute and total. Policy of liberalization was frozen and abandoned. Dialogue came to stand-still. Economic conditions were worse. Expenditure on development works was shared by engineers, legislators and Congress functionaries. Situation was restive and uneasy under the surface. Pak Field Intelligence was active, to penetrate into administration and education.

The Compulsions of Indira and Abdullah Accord

The Home Ministry became restive and after thinking a

new strategy began to be evolved. Bangla-Desh had come into existance and India had recognized the republic of Bangla Desh. Sheikh Mujib on January 10 landed at Palam airport on his way from London to Dacca. In June 29 to July 2, 1972 Simla Agreement was signed.

S.M. Abdullah and Plebiscite Front began to evaluate the post Simla agreement situation and well appreciated the significance of the articles in the said agreement. Mirza Afzal Beg, President of Plebiscite Front was for whole hearted support to the agreement.

Indira Gandhi lifted ban on Abdullah and he returned to Kashmir. On his return, in his first public meeting on July 18, 1974, he renewed his scathing attack on two nation theory and eulogized the concepts of secularism, democracy and socialism enshrined in the "New Kashmir Programme." He defended the Kashmir accession to India. Sheikh knowing the emerging potential of Jamaat-E-Islami, denounced it as being Fascist organization, advocating fundamentalist dogmas, quite opposite to the liberal teachings and precepts of Islam.

Negotiations bore fruit and agreement was signed on November 13, 1974. S.M. Abdullah assumed the responsibility of Chief Ministership and on February 24, 1975, Indira Gandhi announced in the Lok Sabha that an accord had been reached with Kashmir leaders. The Plebiscite Front Organization was dissolved officially on May 9, 1975.

The Accord sent shock waves to Pak Junta, reactionary circles and pro establishment press. ISI was depressed, pro-Pak forces in the valley were confused and cynical. Jamaat was full of rage and queer enough Congress circles were unhappy and pessimistic about the whole affair. Among Congress circles the rumour was afloat, the S.M. Abdullah is suffering from a serious disease and about to 'go off,' and is about to die. Preparations were a foot to subvert the Accord, and unholy alliances with anti Accord forces were struck.

The Policy of Accord and Discord. Disruptive Moves of Indira Congress : National Conference and Congress (I)

The progressive opinion of India felt that for reassertion of democratic movement and strengthening secular forces Accord with S.M. Abdullah was necessary and vital. But in murky politics of Kashmir first provisio of accord was disscord. Inira Gandhi publickly did not disapprove of it. It appears that local congress leadership had her tacit approval to such a disruptive tactical behaviour. Mir Qasim led congress in kashmir being packed with political light weights devoid of vision and perspective, played the part of the people "as Nick Bottom that of the Lion." It is a fact that first accord did not come up to expctations of democrat-sand patriots. It failed to reinvigorate the traditional values of the movement. Accord was target of attack from extreme right-monitored from ISI across the border, vital segments inside Congress (I) and muffled voices from National Conference too. Attack from extreme right is not an unexpected one. Punjab and Kashmir are both sensitive border states.[32]

As desired, the nationalist forces did not succeed to forge bonds of unity to face the challange. A new polarization, drawing all genuine elements into the national mainstream and confront anti secular forces did not take place. Smt. Indira Gandhi, and Kashmir leaders — D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim should have viewed the process as a political strategy for victory of healthy values in the national movement of Kashmir, in the perspective of historical tradition. The problem was permitted to be bogged down in legal and constitutional quibblings and petty party bargaining. The debate was not elevated to the level of raising healthy political issues and in the process, the secular and democratic forces in the state and country were ot strengthened. The historic accord did not succeed to nurture new shoots of the traditional movement in the spring of new hopes.

The Present Image of Neo National Conference :

The new phase of S.M. Abdullah lacked and was devoid of past idealism as demonstrated by him during freedom struggle. The National Conference a radical party led by late S.M. Abdullah had equidistant relation with Congress and left

in pre-independence phase. After 1975, S.M. Abdullah reshaped it out of 'Plebiscite Front.' history repeats itself-event and persons. "First time as tragedy and second as farce' (said Marx)." The new N.C. is an amalgam of Bakshi N.C., erstwhile congressites and plebiscite rump. It has forgotten its historical precious heritage — "Naya Kashmir". Money and Muscle power are its growing organisational features. Gone are the days of its idealism. It has failed to implement essence of Accord. It depends on certain institutions of medievalism.

The Congress (I) was inducted by late Sadiq in the State. He could succeed to institutionalize administration but his ideological reform attempts of organisation were thawarted and subverted by his erstwhile colleagues – the successive leadership of Congress. He was good but weak willed. Congress (I) had never a mass base in Kashmir. It assumed the shape of a "praetorian's Guards of leader, maintained by him and enjoying various privileges, in particular since 1972. It is in fast disintegrating process at present. Its leaders are responsible for many adventurous political acts. Congress (I) so constituted could not comprehend the significance of the accord and were not serious about its implementation. Congress (I's) political leadership has degenerated now into a group of "Business, Political Directorate." Such being the political scenario in post accord phase, secessionists, pro-Pak forces and Jamaat intensified its activities and spread its tentacles. Field intelligence of Pakistan was active and had established multifarious contacts with youth, students, through its Youth wing 'Jamaat-Tulba,' and Islamic Study circle. The schism among secular forces, they could utilize well.

The Policy of Confrontation – Indira Gandhi Scutles Accord

Indira Gandhi's policy of confrontation egged on by local Congress leaders entered the aggressive phase in 1976. It assumed the shape of sharp hostility between S.M. Abdullah and Indira Congress. Indira Congress lost at the hustings in 1977 and janata Party came into power at the centre. At the behest of Indira and some Congress leaders, local Congress led by Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, initiated a move to withdraw support from Abdullah Government headed by Congress.

Politically, it was an indiscreet act fraught with serious dangers. The same fell throug, Abdullah recommended the dissolution of Assembly to the Governor. In the new elections at hustings, N.C. won the election with thumping majority. At this critical hour, the writer being a senior congress leader, condemned such a move by issuing a statement, and contacted Mr. Mir Qasim who was staying in Delhi, to do the same. He hesitated and prevaricated. He was in collusion with the sponsors of move. Elections were held in clean and free atmosphere. Janata Party led by vetran leaders, Moulvi Syeed, G.M.D. Kara and Bazaz was defeated in the elections. S.M. Abdullah roused regional sentiment 'Kashmiriyat' in the electoral battle. Congress Party cut story figure and many heads of self styled big wigs rolled. It was an eye opener for the Indira Gandhi and party in the J&K State. But she was incorrigible. Confrontation politics continued with fresh vigour. In post election phase "though the writ of National Conference ran over Kashmir, S.M. Abdullah died a disappointed man in 1982. Able to win the confidence of people, Farooq Abdullah took over, and when in 1983, in a free and fair elections he fought not in alliance with congress, but against it, he was able to rally the majority of the people behind the National Conference. The Congress (I) however, was very anxious for power to fall into its hands and with the Congress (I) central government at Delhi." [33] The writer, drafted a note on the situation obtaining in Kashmir then, and called on Smt. Indira Gandhi at Akbar Road in Delhi. My note amply enunciated "the dangers of separatism aided by foreign powers and emergence of extremist forces in the valley in the shape and growth of Muslim fundamentalist organizations. The note elaborated that politics of confrontation will weaken the secular fordes, strengthen Jamaat-E-Islami and the other secessionist outfits. It is high time for the National Conference and Congress (I) to forge a strong political alliance to dispense with tawardy show of naivete. One should understand the simple truth that it is not political chicanery, not the routine style of diplomatic mutual recognition that will ensure joint struggle against common enemy but actual participation in the struggle, actual unity in the struggle. Politics should not be

confused with political chicanery. This is the dialecties of 'Reconcilation or split, facts cannot be ignored, they are hard bones.' The gamble to organise defection,s and set up the infamous government of defectors, headed by G.M. Shah will precipitate the emergence of a well organized force of secessionists, communalists and separatists. Farooq Abdullah, being pushed to the wall, will hit back, and benefits will be repaed by Jamaat-E-Islami.'

"Indira Gandhi did not argue or convince me, but made a sarcastic remark about "Farooq and his USA tour driving in a car accompanied with C.I.A. official." The interview took place in second week of September 1984 and after a couple of years, I conveyed this remark made by Indira Gandhi to Dr. Farooq He dismissed it non-serioulsy, being in honey-moon with Congress (I).

In the new arrangement of things, Mir Qasim immediately after Indira Gandhi's election victory, was side-lined. To carry the policy of confrontation with vigour, she wanted to change horses. Mufti Sayeed was now unchallenged leader of Pradesh Congress and ace confrontationist, fit for the job. Mir Qasim resigned in September, 1984, and in press conference lauded accord and made critical remarks about attempts by Congress (I) and Indira Gandhi to subvert it. Indira Gandhi retorted and in a statement broadcasted on the All India Radio accused Mir Qasim of creating hurdles in the process of Indira-Abdullah Accord.' Mir Qasim joined Mr. Bahugunas Party and gave sustained support to the 'Accord' of 1975.

In July, 1984, as expected, Jag Mohan being the Governor, defections were organised and G.M. Shah, a political dark horse was installed as Chief Minister. It was a Congress (I) rule by proxy. Corruption was rampant. The policy of confrontation, installation of G.M. Shah government resulted in the spurt of fundamentalist forces and separatist tendencies and evolution of the 'Umet-Islami, comprising of Jamaat,' Shia Rabita, (contact) Committee, the Islami Study Circle, 'Jamaat-i-Tulba' and the certain segments of 'Jamaat-Ahle-Hadis.' A serious development took place in Kashmir for the first time

Anantnag district was hit by communal riots G.M. Shah, puppet Ministry was dismissed and Governor took over After prolonged negotiations between the Caongress (I) and National Conference, lasting over six months, agreement was reached between Rajiv Gandhi and Dr. Faroq. The democratic forces in the country welcomed such a move.

8

Kashmir on Fire — Armed Insurgency and Mounting of Operation TOPAC

The situation was very much wounded. Damage was done. As per admission of Dr. Farooq the first batch of youth had gone to receive training in arms across the border immediately after his unceremonious ouster from power.

The first salvos of insurgency were heard and roused the Kashmiri youth. In this scenario of depressing political situation, Pakistan found good opportunity.

"Operation Topac" mounted by President Zia-ul-Huq was a well planned and sophisticated effort to infiltrate the Pak trained saboteuers into all branches of the Kashmir Government, and to expose the entire population to sustained anti-India-propaganda for a length of time. It was calculated to lead on to high class organised sabotage, terror and public demonstrations to bring down the entire functioning of the state apparatus to a grinding halt timed with 'Kabayali' type invasion from across the border. In such a situation, there is little doubt that at present there is no option but to continue with the rooting out of all infiltrators, saboteurs and terrorists and bring back rule of law to Kashmir."[34]

A Master Stroke of ISI (Pakistan) and Rise of Muslim United Front -

In this backdrop the 'Muslim United Front' became very active in the 1987. Its formationa dn timing was master stroke

of 'Inter Service Intelligence,' Pakistan. Its hard core, mainly youth had already their first grounding in Afghan Mujahidin encounters and returned to the valley on the eve of elections of 1987. Some of them had participated in Anantnag communal riots in April 1986 during G.M. Shah's tenure of office.

The main stay of M.U.F. during elections was 'Jamaat' and continues even today. It is cadre based organisation, politically arch-reactionary and rightist. It draws its strength from Kulaks, certain sections of educated middle class especially teachers and low paid employees, rich orcharists and stands for deaccession of Kashmir from India. During elections in 1987, such was the zeal demonstrated by M.U.F. in the valley that to superficial observers it appeared that the priesthood is about to flood the Kashmir Legislature.

The alliance did not react rationally to such a phenomena, the emergence of the 'Mullas' (Muslim priests) on the political scene. They should have stood for democratic methods, and should have conceded freedom for any class or people, to take part in politics, provided such a group or party does not utilize democratic methods for subverting democracy. 'Mullaism' has always participated in politics covertly, the people stand to gain, and gain a great deal if the 'Mullaism' begins to participate in politics overtly.

The alliance, during elections was more motivated by factor of power and not political and ideological objectives. The erstwhile confrontationists donned the mask of 'new agreement and reconcilation and found themselves on ministerial berths. It was an agreement mechanically processed, hence pregnant with the seeds of split. A split took place, Mufti Mohd. Sayeed resigned and joined Jan Morcha, led by Shri V.P. Singh. The M.U.F. had clear and not nuclear objectives, establishment of 'islamic State' within a secular fabric and if possible secession of Kashmir from Indian Union. For this ideological battle alliance was unprepared. The cadre of both the partners of alliance has been reared on power positions, concessions, crumbs and organisational doles and not on political ideological basis.

During elections, 'Jamaat' made 'secularism' its main target of attack. It tarnished it as immorai and irreligious concept alien to Islamic philosophy.

In Anantnag district in particular and in the State in general, alliance partners, at the grass root level voted for M.U.F. The poverty of ideology and opportunism of cadres of respective parties was quite obvious. Congress (I) leaders and Dr. Abdullah admitted this glarant fact in their statements. Even Congress (I) appointed two member commission of Enquuiry, for window dressing.

Sad commentary on the state of affairs of mutual recognition, and differences within the alliance during election process.

The issue was, whether there could be a solid block of lal secular and nationalist forces possible and successfully forged for the defence of secularism, democracy and 'New Kashir'— Socialism. That is how rightists (M.U.F.) saw it. The view that there were in effect two warring camps, one of them fighting for and other against these concepts, (secularism etc.) ran through the Right wing and liberal press. But look at this 'theory' from the standpoint of the outcome of election.s How did it stand the test of reality? Though the alliance had won the battle at hustings it had yet to prove that it had won the war of hustings. It should be short sighted to minimize the high record of the M.U.F. The point to note was that whatever the poll score, the alliance has had a narrow victory, for one has to take into account the traditional vote gathering technique of the ruling establishment in Kashmir.

The reactio of town and country to the alliance was different and unequal for the first time, the fact came to the public gaze that National Conference traditional strong holds in cities and towns had developed serious cracks. In absence of politico-ideological progressive moulding of 'backward-peasant,' leadership— social and political passes on to an emergent rich peasant class (Kulak), who in order to rape the poor masses needs an ideology– a reactionary one-obscurantist. The Kashmiri rich peasant (Kulak) adopted its ideology that of 'Jamaat.'

The conduct of elections and result morally and politically shattered the image of alliance among masses.

The Rightists (M.U.F.) in Defence of Democracy

The M.U.F. conducted their offensive against alliance under the slogan of 'defending the democracy.' It was an ideal situation for Pakistan to intervene and field intelligence to operate with vehemence. But history has shown jore than once that by defending democracy against the 'danger from secularism, democracy and socialism,' advocates of religious obscurantism and fundamentalism and those who implement its strategy serve the rightists, for themostanti democratic forces fof our time reaction and terrorism. The examples of Pakistan and Indonesia bear testimony to this historical fact. Elections gave a stature, organisational personality, and solidarity to the M.U.F. and alliance was morally and politically in shambles. past confrontationist policy of Indira Congress had paid dividends havily in favour of reaction and against progress.

The Political Bungling of Alliance and Rise of Extremism

The policies pursued by Congress since its inception on the political scene in the state and combined with political bunglings and rampant corruption of National Conference in post Accord phase, fascilitated the emergence of Muslim United Front as a solid alternative political force in the valley. It cleared the decks for irise of extremism and terrorism and secession in Kashmir and provided an opportunity to Pak intervention.

The last important aspect of the situation arising out of 1987 elections is present terrorism. Terrorism is administrative problem but extremism is political one. Terrorism breeds terror culture of Kalishankov, aided and abetted by Pakistan agencies who provide it with training, indoctrination, guns, sanctuary and cash. The general decay of system prevalent, increases widespread unemployment, misery and dispair. The organisation of lumpen proletarians is a society of disorder. While there is no doubt that the Pak ruling class has been providing help to terrorists, it would be mistake to consider it to be the sole source of problem; for it canot be denied that

there is a hard core of extremists, consisting of hundreds of Muslim Youngmen, who are active rather than passive agents. It is fantastic that governments have been expounding off repeated theory of the involvement of foreign powers instead of examining the objective situation within the state which provides grist to the mill of covert intervention of these powers.

It is notable that while struggles, subversive activities, uprisings for succession have been going on for about five decades, extremism and terrorism arose since 1988- a short span of time.

An important socio-economic change preceding extremism took place in the state.

9

The Socio– Economic Roots of Terrorism in the State

In the State about 3 lakh house holds are at present below poverty line, it has a high infant mortality rate. It leads in the percentage of illiteracy in India. In rural sector perverse income distribution prevails. It results in skewed income distribution. Defective ceiling laws gave rise to the emergence of new class 'orchardists'— a capitalist farmer. Rich farmers are subsidized while marginal and poor and subjected to ruthless market operation.s Kashmiris traditional crafts are rich, but craftsmen live in extreme poverty. 'Khawaja,' the exporter who does not sweat fills his coffers. The real results of erroneous policy of planning for more than a decade, however, were thriving caste of 'New Rich,' growing social contrasts. New high rising buildings at Rajbagh, Nagin, Nishat, Barzulla, expensive posh Hotels on Boulevard and traffic Jams in the winter and Summer capitals of state are symbols of prosperity of states upper crust. Income from smuggling 'charas' (ha-shish), foreign remittances, black money and exports has helped alleviate the impact of rising prices.

The inhibitants in slums in Srinagar see the sumptuous mansions in the fashionable quarters of green belt and Bouleward, and are aware of their slums, hell holes as teir residential quarters. People hanging in clusters from buses risk falling on the gleaming top of gypsy, Maruti, Toyota, Mercedes cars. Families eating Dal-Roti, sag-rice after their working day know that customers in posh hotels and restaurants ate dinners that costs a workers month wages. Wages do not always keep

up with galloping inflation. Capitalism developing in the state is a parasitic in character. Private money pours in trade, purchase of lands by monopolists round cities, speculation at best into real estate and hotel business and not in industry and Agriculture. The biggest industry in state continues to be state service. The gap between rich and poverty, psychological strain and failure to adjust span crime, drug addiction and finally such strata becomes recruiting ground for terrorism. The clevage is cultural as well as social. The unemployed youth group themselves around religious associations, their political behaviour is marked by proneness to spontaneous revolt followed by quick withdrawal into a shell of outward docility but keep involved in conspirational activities. The new rich are western oriented in their mode of life, culture and conviction. But the ultra modern culture of their way of life, views and behaviour is a challenge to the sentiments, traditions and culture of the masses who live within their traditional system of values.

The ideas of Islamic and Hindu fundamentalism appeal not only the illiterate masses but also to hundreds of thousands of students and youth who see no future for themselves. Agrarian relations are based on small holding form of property, it lacks diversity of development and is devoid of wealth of social relationship. In absence of agro-industrial complexes, such an economy generates an unemployed surplus population, begging for a sort of respectable alms in state offices and necessitates the creation of state posts resulting in unbalanced budget.

The four Components of Kashmir problems and Contradictions of Kashmiri Muslim Consciousness : (Mulla, Salariat- (Muslim Intelligentsia, Kulak Elite and Lumpen)

To analyse social stratification obtaining in the Kashmir society, categorization on economic basis is not enough to understand the interplay of various social entities and their role on social basis. Even after abolition of landlordism, feudal culture has persisted manifesting in the form of 'Mulla' and Mullaism, Khawaja — trader a protoganist of feudal ethos and behaviourism, intelligentsia (elite) its evolution and socio-

psychological dispositions, peasantry, youth and lumpens and their emergence on the socio-political scenario.

Mullaism — The Institution of Muslim Priests

Islam recognized only one institution Imam. The term is used in the Quran. The Imam is leader of prayers in the Masjid. When there are three persons, one of them must act as Iamam to lead the prayers. It is not considered hereditary institution. Islam does not also recognise institution of 'Mir Waiz' in vogue in Kashmir, it is indigenous growth. Mulla is a scholar, a learned man. In Arabic it means a master, a religious leader or leads prayers. Besides Mulla, Qazi denotes Administrator of Justice and Mufti who expresses legal opinions, known as 'Fatwah.'

In the early Islamic phase these institutions consisting of intellectuals were pristine pure, confined to religious aspect of Islam. Khalifa was a political head, administrator and govering body who maintained these classes of people.

But with the degeneration of Islamic empires (Khalifas) the institution of Muslim priesthood became a centre of vested interest, a class of exploiters and main levers of reaction, fundamentalism and defenders of dictatorship, impearialism and status quo. Mullas countered modernist and rational trends of Sir Syed, M.A. Azad, Maulan Shibli, Shah Wali Ullal and Iqbal in the sb-continent. In Pakistan were active defenders of worst dictatorships and even today are main propr of military. In Turkey and Afghanistan Mullas opposed secularism and modernity, propounded by Mustafa Kamal and Amanullah Khan. In Egypt were Vehement critics of Jamal Nasir-main architect of Arab-nationalism.

With the rise of 'liberation Theology in Islam on the basis of Theology. Quran and Sunna, the two primary sources of Islamic faith can liberate not only muslims but the whole of humanity. The traditional and fundamentalist Mullas are on the defensive and an retreat in most of the Islamic countries – Algeria, Morrocco, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Central Asian Republics etc.

With the advent of Dogra Rule in Kashmir, the process of secularisation set in. Dogras modernised legal and judicial system on the basis of English laws and the same were applied to the state. Mullaism symbolized in the institutions of Qazi, Mufti and Moulvi paled into insignificance. Post independence constitutions further augmented and gave a spurt to the process. Mullas, Qazis, Mufti's see their fate sealed in the secular India and look out for merger with Pakistan — where they can rule roast under 'Pak model shariat laws.'

Mullaism - the institution of muslim priests have had held key positions in social life of Kashmir, their domination for a long time was unchallengeable. The traditional Mullaism of indigenous origin evolved an institution (Mirwaiz) headpreacher, which does not exist anywhere in the rest of Islamic world. The other species, who emigrated from central Asia during 'Timurs' repression constitute alien Mullas — Andrabis, Qadir! Suhravardhy, Bukhari, Chisti, Samnani, Fazili, Kamili, Ashai, Naqashbandi, Geelani, Qurashi, Qazis etc. They monopolized trade, political power and priesthood. There have been serious conflicts between Kashmiri people and alien Mullaism.

The local priesthood was exponent of mystic message a Rishi order (Bhakti) its main proponents were Nunda Rihsi, Lal-Ishwari and lower clergy-Peers.

The traditional Mullas represented by 'Mirwaiz' were props of feudalism, autocracy, hand in glow with local exploiters — (Khawajas) big traders.

Even during Muslim conference phase, they tried to oppose and squeeze the first peoples rumblings against establishment, opposed National conference, and political struggle for freedom. With the rising crescendo of Pakistan slogan, identified with it. In 1947 - opposed Kashmiri's accession to India. The last of the barons of Mirwaiz family was Moulvi Farooq who got murdered during militancy in Kashmir.

The assertion made by this traditional Mulla trend represented by Mirwaiz was that 'Mosque' is a weapon and this weapon is relevant in politics than the weapons in vogue.

More or less, this trend of 'Mullaism' was liberal not fundamentalist and upheld the traditional communal amity of Kashmir. Moulvi Yusuf Shah and Moulvi Farooq stood by religious tolerance.

The alien 'Mullaism' was quite different in its approaches and perceptions. It had roots of fundamentalism and fanaticism. Socially, this strata feels superior to common Kashmiri muslims and had their adherents among traders, Khawajas, feudal gentry and ruling class. They wielded power during all regimes — Pathans, Moughals, Sikhs and Dogras. In their lap was nurtured the first Muslim intelligentsia, though very small in number.

This category of priests disseminated fundamentalist philosophy and were founders of Jammat-E-Islamia in Kashmir. They were opposed to Kashmiri nationalism and secular movement and are out to annex Kashmir with Pakistan and displayed their vehement resistence to radical land-reforms, modern education and rights to womanfolk. Today this segment of Mullas constitutes bed-rock of secessionism and militancy in Kashmir. They express vigorously the demand that Kashmir should be a virtual theocratic muslim state, Jamaat's is the main lever of the Muslim United Front and its hardcore constitutes armed wing — Hizb-ul-Mujahideen.' This cult of Mullas is the brain behind the 'Militant' regressive social reforms — (Burqa) women to put on a veil, restricted marriage parties, enforcement of prohibition (liquor), punishment for teasing girls. On the face of it, this is a positive step. But there are instances, (as per their own admissions, that certain section of militants indulge in molestation, rape and extortions.

'Mulla' is an vital link, between Militants and people and Mosque is the political centre.

Salariat — the Muslim Intelligentsia

Owing to extreme unfavourable economic circumstances, general impoverishment and poverty among muslims, mass illiteracy, the growth of Muslim intelligentsia was belated and few and far between in the early thirties.

In 1931, about a dozen muslim graduates, among them S.M. Abdullah, mostly sons of traders, Mullas and big land holders, were eager to fight for their demands. This batch was founder of 'Historic Reading Room' harbinger of political change and an instrument for ventilating peoples grievances. But most of the ring-leaders turned opportunists except S.M. Abdullah who showed consistency and stood up to autocratic regime.

The Muslim conference was formed in 1932 and on assuming mass character this small section of muslim intelligentsia even at this stage remained aloof from the on-going struggle mostly were in search of crumbs, jobs and keen about their careers.

At the time of conversion of Muslim Conference to National Conference, the muslim intelligentsia exercised pressure on numerous muslim leaders, to slip out from National Conference, form new muslim conference to support their sectional demands in the way that the Muslim Conference organization did in the past.

To ascertain and identify the classes, forces behind the Pakistan demand — in the post war phase many outstanding intellectuals undertook an exercise on the problem. A prominent communist leader, Dr. Adhikari, wrote a thesis, Pakistan and National Unity, advocating the view to seize the initiative from the British, and forge congress-league unity on the basis of liberal nationalities policies — Self determination to nationalities : Punjabies, Baluchis, Sindhis and Bengalis etc. In this backdrop progressive intellectuals inside national Conference adopted its policy on the question of Nationalities. Mr. Jinnah came to Srinagar, in May 1944. In a reception to Mr. Jinnah this formula on nationalities was placed before him. In 1945 at Sopore session of National Conference the same approach was placed before Nehru, Gaffar Khan and Azad, Jinnah was hostile to such an approach and did not conceal his disapproval of it in an interview to a student delegation headed by Sardar Teja Singh, President of the student union, and in a separate interview to other students delegation headed by the writer : "Coni. Satish — 'What is the difference between the right of

self determination granted by the Congress (and National Conference) and the demand for Pakistan? Mr. Jinnah - What right of self determination? (Interrupting) I (Sardar Teja Singh) we mean what is the difference between the Delhi Resolution of the Congress - granting right of self-determination to territorial units and the Lahore Resolution of Muslim League.

Mr Jinnah - what does this resolkution say? Where is the resolution? (Sardar Teja Singh) I do not have resolution on me but I can quote from memory.

Mr. Jinnah — No Memories are deceptive. Have you got it? Com. S.N. Bira took out the resolution and said, Here it is. Evidently this surprised, rather disconcerted Mr. Jinnah. He proposed avoid being led into a untenable position. But Late Som Nath Bira disposed him... Mr Jinnah only laughed away the answer... I (Sardar Teja Singh). I is good if religion governs politics but it is bad if comunalism does it.

Mr. Jinnah - with a scornful smile in his lips, "well, Communalism, communalism... Good bye, "saying this, he got up from his chair and shook hands with us and felt relieved." [35]

From the interview it was clear to us, that Mr. Jinnah, was evading our questions. He had opened the flood gates of muslim passion against Hindus, had no rational policy regarding nationality problem, right of self-determination. With these hazy and blurred views, the progressive Kashmir youth and National Conference were not impressed by him. The policy on nationalities adopted by National Conference got vindicated when Pakistan split and Bangladesh state came into existence and entire Pakistan is torn by ethnic and regional strife. The traditional muslim intelligentsia in general harped on stero-type 'Pakistan' demand and during the stay of Mr. Jinnah, in Kashmir valley the muslim intelligentsia, functional and elite hosted at homes and parties to him and S.M. Abdullah was also invited. Efforts were vigorously on, to reconcile both leaders and revive muslim conference. But the scheme initiated by muslim intelligentsia, did not come off. National conference stuck to its guns, Mr. Jinnah left Kashmir in a bitter mood

and was hostile to National conference in his statements and speeches. At the moment there was certain degree of discomfort and schism manifest between congress and national conference, but it did not create great flutter and both were unanimous in their political programmes and pursuits.

In 1946, when 'Quit Kashmir' movement was on, muslim conference and Moulvi Yousuf Shah condemned it out right but 'Muslim intelligentsia' in spite of their political differences on the question of 'Pakistan and Muslim League,' supported the movement whole-heartedly. Not inspired by the genuine patriotism of 'Quit Princedom and Feudalism' but motivated more by anti Hindu Maharaja sentiment, and struggle of oppressed Muslims against establishment run by Dogra monarch, Hari Singh.

On the eve of 'Kabali Raid' and on the question of accession, muslim intelligentsia was on the other side of the fence. By and large, indifferent and even severely critical of S.M. Abdullah and National Conference leadership, opposed to radical agrarian Reforms and democratic measures, avoided open hostility to the new regime, where conscious of their new hegemonstic role in the affairs of state and pursued the line of diplomatic subversion.

In the post independence phase, the number of muslim intelligentsia registered a considerable increase. Free education from primary to post graduation, opening of Engineering and Medical Colleges, a broad net work of schools and colleges throughout the state gave a impetus to education among masses. Land abolition of feudal estates and economic growth in the country side gave rise to rural elite — sons of rich peasants, traders and orchardists. In post '53 phase, corruption became a way of life. A sectional officer of vital engineering sector and ranger of forest, commonly called low paid employee could dream of rolling in wealth., afford posh bungalows, comforts available to upper class. After retirement being financially in a position t run lucrative trade : contracts and invest black-money accumulated during tenure of service. Suppression of receipts, exaggeration of expenditure and under

valuation of assets are main methods of concentration of wealth in a few hands, particularly elite and bureaucracy.

"The central assistance, which was funneled through the administrative machinery of the state, was largely cornered by a small class of Kashmiri 'Muslim intelligentsia in collaboration with big trading class (Khawja) who dominated the political administrative-commercial life in the valley under the post 1947 dispensation of power. The opulence of the newly built houses owned even by the junior officials and the prosperity of this small class of Kashmiris is incredible. The benefits of central aid has not percolated to the masses, and the lot of the vast majority of poor peasants... have not changed anywhere in proportion to the massive funds by the central government."

"The sudden ascendance to power and wealth by the new elite created two problems for them. One was the increasing necessity of keeping the large majority of poor muslim masses from reacting to the ill-gotten quick wealth of the ruling minority. The other was the anxiety to perpetuate their dominant position since the unexpectedly sudden gains create a fear psychosis especially in context of the kid glove treatment received by them from the central government which meant anear total freedom from the regulating machanisms of tax and other vigilance authorities that operate much more effectively in the rest of India." "The demand for a free state, the clamour to join to Pakistan, the rise of religious fundamentalism, the creation of the Indian bogey, etc. Ideally suited the ruling elite of the valley. These were excellent tools for diverting the attention of the poor masses from the glaring contrasts of sudden wealth of the politicians and administrators. To counter such anti-India activity, the central government constantly devised ways of supporting the ruling groups, giving a good bye to the efficiency of administrative controls. 'The rich elite of Kashmir have the intelligence to realize that an independent free State of Kashmir is not viable, and the consequences of joining with Pakistan will not be pleasant. They did not expect that their incitement and covert support to the secessionist activity will ever snowball so far beyond a point necessary to playgames with New Delhi. The poor are always exploited by

the clever and the cunning, be they politicians of India, Pakistan, or the ruling elite of Kashmir... They are easily manipulated by rhetoric and propaganda of which religion is one of the most convenient tools." "With the masses in the valley smarting under rampant corruption, the grievance safety valves effectively sealed by the manipulated electrol process, and real total breakdown of administrative efficiency, Pakistan found a good opportunity."[36]

An eminent publicist and Journalist, Dr. Kailas. N. Pradhan in his down to earth analysis on the same them makes valuable observations worth quoting :

"Most of the Kashmiri bureaucrats had been catapulted to their positions of power and influence not as their merit and ability but being as members of a 'long oppressed majority community.' Only a few of them came through the channel of selection, though in most cases, those selections have been doubted by the analysts. The non-committed bureaucrats managed acquisition of wealth through illegal means; wealth disproportionate to their means of income and with no accountability. With wealth and administrative powers in their hand, the Kashmiri muslim bureaucrats established close links with the sections of Kashmiri Muslims who had acquired welath more through illegal and calendestine means than through the sweat of the brow.... The upper class moved in a subtle manner and used the art which is the exclusive quality of a Kashmiri. They managed to seize the Mosque by enrolling themselves as the members of the mosque committee of the local mosques... Members of the upper class infiltrated, all committees functioning under the broad banner of welfare and Reform committees. In other words., they neutralized what originally was an anti-capitalist, anti bureaucratic move.... They became the staunch supporters of Jammat-i-islami and used the instrument of religion to shield themselves from any impending danger.[37]

The Real Identity (Kashmiryat) or Vaccum.

There is much clamour regaridng identity 'Kashmiriat, by Kashmiri Muslim pseudo intellectuals and academic circles.

You come across people in Srinagar, extremely competent professionals — Doctors, engineers, lawyers who consider themselves to be modern and advanced, try to organise their lives on the modern principles, social interactions. But this modernity is skin deep., it is limited to certain behaviour pattern, use of modern gadgets etc. About their life, they have extreme conservative concepts. In their actual life situations they are not prepared to adopt what is really modern. Equality of women and their rights, they are not prepared to accept, not free from superstitions and common totems and taboos. In fact, such people really do not have an identity of their own. "They have a vacuum in their lives once pass early phase of their life, at the latter stage the question of rootedness, identity, becomes relevant to them. That is when question of tradition becomes relevant. Given the manner in which the communal forces have been acting, this section of the population become easily vulnerable to the communal propoganda, for it gives them an identity to relate to."[38]

Traditional muslim intelligentsia, being hidebound conservative is not in search of true identity — regional, cultural identity 'Kashmiriat' but muslim identity. During centuries, we in the sub-continent have developed, composite culture, an end product of interaction of diverse cultures — both muslims and Hindus have contributed in its evolution — Kabir, Chisti, Nanak, Prem Chand, Ram Mohan Roy, Sir Sayeed, Iqbal and Ghalib, Nund Rishi and Lalaishwari etc. A major section of educated 'illiterate Kashmiri Muslim Intelligentsia dubbs composite culture as 'cultural aggression of Hindus.'

There is no reason why the Kashmiri way of life be encouraged to flourish in its natural way. All reasonable steps to safeguard the regional culture — 'Kashmiriat' must be taken. But to adopt Paksitani 'Kurta-Pyjama,' 'Khan dress' and try to immitate it is not Kashmiri identity. It should be shunned, our own dress is to be cultivated and improvised.

Why This Intensification of Communal Politics Among Kashmiri intelligentsia — Salariat.

Why this pro-Pak or secessionist, fundamentalist tendencies and intensification of communal politics among muslim intelligentsia in Kashmir? The prominent personalities of the subcontinent — India and Pakistan have tried to reply and explain this ticklish question, baffling the minds of those who have some sense of patriotism and qualms of conscience. Nehru in his autobiography, 'Discoveyr of India,' Dr. Adhikari's Pakistan and National Unity,' Dr. K. Ashrafs (communist leader) "Politics of Indian Muslims" and towering personality of Pakistan Prof: Hamza Alvi have made in depth analysis and down to earth appreciation of this malaisie. Prof. Hamza Alvi, in his 'Character of State in Pakistan,' "Pakistan and Islam' — its ethnicity and ideology" had laid bare the role of 'Salariat'— the muslim intelligentsia. The product of the colonial transformation of Indian social structure in the 19th century and it comprised those who had received an education that would equip them for employment in the expanding colonial state apparatus as scribes and functionaries whose instrument of production was the pen. For the want latter term Prof. Hamza Alvi, referred to them as Salariat."[39]

Nehru's formulation of movement for Pakistan, the belated muslim intelligentsia and hegmony of feudal landlords over Muslim League. Dr Adhikari, a communist theoretician attributes Pakistans emergence to the weak muslim bourgcoisie compared to strong Hindu capitalist class. The idea that the Pakistan movement was motivated by Islamic ideology is also misconception, asserts Prof: Hamza Alvi and refutes Nehrus and Dr. Adhikaris contention about the establishment of Pakistan. Prof. Hamza Alvi, in his two monumental books "The State in post colonial scoeties, and 'state and class under peripheral capitalism," elaborates his concept of Character of State in Pakistan. He differentiates muslim state and Islamic state. The muslim league movement was not dominated by traders and landlords, they took little Part in the movement. The movement for Pakistan was dominated above all by muslim professionals and the 'Salariat' of northern India, especially of the U.P. Bihar and Punjab. Prof-Alvi says :

"It will be argued that central drawing force behind the muslim movement was a class that has a distinct place in colonial societies, whose role needs to be recognised more fully and explicitly. I have labelled that class the 'Salariat,' the urban educated class, who qualify for employment... with them were associated the new professionals who emerged in the context of colonial transformation..... the lawyers, journalists and urban intellecturals generally, who share many of the problems of Salariat." In the pre-formation of phase of Pakistan, 'Salariat' overlorded ethnicity and got it subsumed but in post Pakistan period it flared up — bangladesh's separation and regular conflict sof Punjabis, Sindhis and Pathans. The salariat being an auxiliary class, its class role determines its alliances, particularly with landlords, weak capitalist class of the state, as well with working class. Its is dictated by class alliances dominant in society.[40]

"An example of this is its willingness to serve the anti national purposes of the colonial state and after the partition, the USA interests in the region at the cost of the nation... Its upper echelons, the bureaucratic and military oligarchies play a role that is qualitatively different from that of its lower level... Their relative weight in the political process vis-a-vis elected political representative, is the greater the lower the level of development of the society in question It is prominent in Pakistan and Africa. It is less prominent in post colonial India, which has experienced relatively higher level of economic and political development....

This is a striking feature of the political scene in Pakistan."[41]

The Salariat (Muslim intelligentsia) is a queer phenomenon worth study in Pakistan and J&K State. "The Salariat not only serves the economically dominant classes (in Kashmir 'Khawjas,' landlords, orchardists, muslim fundamentalist outfits — Jammat) in the colonial and the post colonial state, but it also has its specific interests by virtue of its particular structural location and its powers, privileges and opportunities for corruption as the 'governing class' in the post colonial state by virtue of their direct groip over the state apparatus in the absence of

institutional structure of democratic political control. This is a striking feature.[42]

Government of India's policy of 'Repression and corruption' in Kashmir inherited from British 'Irish policy,' thawarted democratic growth, glarant anti-democratic experiment in 1953, Isolation of people from democratic process, gave rising opportunity to Kashmiri 'Salariat' to establish its hegemony over political, and social institutions, enabling it to gain 'command' position and respectability in the society. After 1953 episode, political parties lack of mass base, gave initiative to the bureaucracy to deliver goods and politician's dependence on administrative apparatus resulted in complete ssway of 'Salariat' over state institutions. This is the striking feature of the Kashmir political scene today.

Kashmir Muslim salariat, believed in Mr. Jinnah's two nation theory from its very inception, it expressed in the ideologyof the weaker 'muslim Salariat' vis-a-vis the dominant high caste Hindu (Kashmiri Pandit) salariat groups. The salariat (muslim) was central to the J&K Muslim Conference in pre-independence phase and Jamaat and other fundamentalist outfits in post independence era.

The 'Salariat' is not a static concept. Thus in Pakistan Muslim ethnic identity, once it had fulfiled a purpoe for the salariat of Bengal, Sind, Sarhad and Buluchistan, gave way to the respective regional ethnic (identities-overnight this 'Muslim identity, undergoes through the process of definitions and redefinitions. It assumes the form of and shape of antagonism to non-Kashmiri muslim in bureaucracy and educational institutions — Universities, Colleges etc. It is being determined on the basis of perceptions of the distribution of privileges and politically viable options.

During the freedom struggle, Kashmiri salariat miserably failed to establish its ideological and political leadership (unlike Pakistani salariat) over muslim peasantry, youth, lower middle classes, lower clergy, working class it suffered from serious handicap; their identification with muslim conference, which advocated a political line of pro-autocracy, profeudal

vested interests in contrast to national conferences battles cry— 'land to the tiller.' New Kashmir's most radical: 'peasants; workers and women's charter. National conference's grand strategy confined 'salariat' to its shell.

Why in the post independence phase, the sudden ascendance to power and wealth the 'Kashmiri salariat' insists on muslim identity, discards composite culture and takes refuge under fundamentalism and preaches secession and merger with Pakistan?

To answer this question is very simple.

In Pakistan character of state is 'clergy-landlord— military and bureaucratic.' Successive military dictatorships, limping democracy under military thumb, weak bourgeoisie and their influence on political institutions, backward political consciousness of the masses, have given a role, a significant one to Pakistani salariat. Irrespective of the fact, who wields power, military or civil, two things cannot be tampered with– theocracy and bureaucracy cum landlords,' any one making even a mild effort to challenge these three 'rights' will be removed from power. In India, parliamentary democracy having come to stay, modern capitalism developed, liberal and democratic institutions being viable, 'Hindu Salariat' cannot afford such a role.

"In this connection, it may be mentioned that the colonial system of govenrment and rules of business, under which ministers were proteges of the British senior civil servants, altered in independent India. These changes were effected in India because the political leadership was able to assert itself, although the role of bureaucracy in this country is usually under-estimated, as Bambari has demonstrated so clearly.[43]

The Pakistan state, since its inception has been run by civil service, backed by the Army. Fo the past time, with the rise and emergence of P.P.P. led by Z.A.a Bhutto, the military bureaucratic oligarchy was challenged, but after a brief interval, with the fall of Bhutto it resurfaced as usual.

In the history of Pakistan, Jinnah's main unintended contribution was a demotion of the political leadership in favour of bureaucracy. It was further strengthened by successive military regimes and in post Zia era the military wing, enjoying hegemony, gives it unstinted support.

The privileged position and opportunities of Pakistan salariat for corruption as the 'ruling class in Pakistan by dint of their strong hold over state apparatus is tempting for Kashmiri Muslim salariat. The existence of weak democracy and absence of institutional structures for peoples political control, the Pakistan salariat's (Muslim Bureaucracy) status is envied by 'Kashmiri' salariat' – Kashmiri Muslim intelligentsia. Corruption being a way of lifeamong major chunks of bureaucracy in Kashmir Pakistan state appears 'paradise on earth' to this class of Kashmiri salariat. Hence innate urge to merge with Pakistan. it is quite understandable. The commitment to Islamic ideology is least. Kashmiri salariat (Muslim) has down to earth appreciation that muslim ethnicity had outlived its original mision when Pakistan was brought into existence, for the Muslim salarait no longer stood in opposition to Hindus. Instead, a new dominent ethnic group identified itself, the ruling Punjabis etc. They had left Muslim ethnicity behind in the pre-partition past. Every regional group wanted its pound of flesh.

Kashmiri Muslim salariat as it is constituted is a social contradiction in action. His outer shell is apparently modern, but part within hard shell; kerenl is hide-bound conservative. In political dispositions, 'Kashmiri Salariat resembles' Jekyll and Hyde,' characters in story by R.L. Stevenson – person in whom two (opposing) personalities alternate. Any violation of democratic norm in functioning of Indian democracy, Kashmiri salariat reacts in oversensitive manner. His ocriticism is cramp and hair-splitting. As regards military coup-de-etates, forcible overthrow of democracitclly established governments in Paksitan, he is not only indifferent, numb but an active defender of undemocratic actions and justificative.

Muslim Kashmiri salariat is averse to any support to be

extended to the democratic struggles waged by people in Pakistan for democracy and equlitarian system – the basic tenets of Islam.

Problems of and Grievances of 'Kashmiri Muslims' as Indian Minority.

Nevertheless, Kashmiri 'salariat is justified in its grievance against Government of India and Indian Democracy, on the count of his minimal, minuscule representation in central services of all grades and categories. The central statistics shows graphically, that 'Kashmiri salariats' representation throughout India in central services and public undertaking is not even nominal and lowest. His claims have been trampled underfoot, by narrowminded and cringy central bureaucrats. His heart burning on this score is jjustified and it is vital factor for his alienation. 'Kashmiri Salariat' is seriously apprehensive and horrified on the question of Hindu-Muslim conflict and dangerous expression off communalism in post independence India. In 1989, there were 60 communal riots within 65 days of September-November. Not only we are having more riots every year, but are having riots in more places also. Today it can be safely said that at least half of India is affected by Hindumuslim riots. As the number of riots have grown, the number of instigators and organisers of riots ahve also grown. In 1951 communal organisations of all religions numbered not more than dozen. Today they are over 500 in number. Some of them have a membership of over a lakh.

The muslim salariat response to all these has been disastrously negative. They saw in this a total breakdown of the secular perception in the Government. They concluded that if they have to live in India they will have to live by organising and defending themselves as muslims if possible to secede from India.

The ground was thus laid by muslim intelligentsia for the quick ascendancy of rabid fundamentalism and passive support to the extremist movement.

Kashmiri 'Muslim Salariat' sees its future career bleak in Indian administration and central bureaucracy. They know well, that presence of Indian muslims at executive level is less than minimal. In 1984 there were only 90 muslims among the 4, 195 IAS officers in the country. At the I.P.S. level they numbered 67 in a total of 2,222. In the central Secretariate, among the 6, 708 officers, the rank of Section Officers, the number of muslims were 38.

Kashmiri muslim intelligentsia have lost faith int he majority community because of the fast decline of liberal thought among the Hindus. It was this liberal thought that earlier gave the muslim intelligentsia the acceptance and respect that were their due.

Kashmiri muslim salariat is totally alienated and such is the sad state of affairs obtaining in the valley, that as per statements of governor, no muslim intellectual, of high integrity and honesty and having good reputation, is prepared to accept the job of Advisor to the Governor's Advisory Council.

The Rural Elite and Rise of Fundamentalism and Extremism (Rich Peasant, landlord and orchardist).

Rise of extremism among peasantry is rooted in the farm growth pattern. After radical land reform in 1950, 'Land to the tiller without compensation,' fixing ceiling, the big social transformation took place, rich peasant and orchardist appeared on the rural scene. The pesantry is not a single category but very much differentiated and the process is continuing even in the backward areas. The rise of extremism in Kashmir rural has its roots in the farm growth pattern of Kashmir. The educated youth unable to get productive employment turned to extremism for the solution of his problem.

There is economic differentiation of the peasantry throughout Kashmir's rural sector The economic and political power of the rich peasantry has increased in all growth areas. But economic differentiation has not led to political differentiation.

The radical land reform of 1950 was sabotaged and subverted in 1978 by National Conference Government, through

an amendment of section 2 of J&K Agrarian Act of 1976, the orchards were exempted from the operation of Act. There could be no fetter to the size of orchards. A big concession to capitalist farmers and creation of neo-land-lordism in the rural sector. "An analysis of Agricultural Development and income distribution in J&K by Prof. Nisar Ali, Advisor to J&K Planning Commission, a scientific treaties, indicating growth of capitalism in Kashmir Agriculture on sound statistics comes to the conclusion that there is "greatincome inequality in the rural sector. The Kulak and orchardist has devoured entire rural economy. The greater income concentration is among the "apple cultivating households. As a result of cereal acreage getting converted into orchards, as these are exempt from ceiling laws, farming is assuming a capitalistic shape than mere subsistence.

Available evidence in the State indicates that the land transferred through land reform measures has been negligible and bulk of land transferred may have gone to medium and small farmers already owning land.

The present distribution of rural assets in the state is such that the top 10% control nearly half nad top 30% about 82 per cent of all rural assets. Let alone the landless, the small and marginal farmers forming 70% are controlled by less than 20% people, there can be no social or economic justice unless this asymmetry is removed.

The Kulak and orchardist, being supplied subsidized inputs, free from tax and system heavily loaded in his favour turned to religious fundamentalism, monopolized state services, having political weightage, with farmers representation have gone up to nearly 45% in the state legislature, dominate all rural institutions. Having heavy surpluses, kulak and orchardist finance net work of Jamaat's educational institutions, constitute vote banks of Congress and National Conference. With the passage of time, Jamaat's educational institutions, constitute vote banks of Congress and national Conference. With teh passage of time, Jamaat succeeded in building an effective potential for secession and finally armed insurgency in rural areas.

Radical land reforms created a rich peasant and 1976 Act revision of the 1950 legislation evolved category of land-lords and orchardists, possessors of big estates, having political weightage, dominating positions in Panchayats, Cooperatives, credit institutions and providing government services to their kith and kin and their proteges. It constituted the social base of Congress (I) and Nation Conference too. The Jamaat kulak, congress and National conference were in hand and glove, united for power sharing, privileges and loot-shoot. Congress (I) in the first phase of its power, particularly during Mir Qasim's tenure, acquiesced in and tacitly agreed to accept the the ideological stances of this neo-rich emerging class as a power base in the rural sector – a sort of ideological peaceful coexistence. A class, if not moulded to sound and healthy ideology owns reactionary and backward ideology. S.M. Abdullah resisted this ideological trend, after accord, but 'lion the little,' Dr. Abdullah, adopted comfortable thesis – 'a philistine optimism'- no conflict between untoward ideological trends and political business. You may gain enough of both worlds if you mind each in its place. The rural elite – sons of rich peasants and applekings – administrators, bureaucrats, teachers, Patwaris, revenue officers, low paid employees judicial officers and professionals donned the fundamentalist robes. Islamic fundamentalism as advocated and founded by Maulana Maududin 1941, a scholar journalist with a classical education, an opponent of muslim nationalism. The organization was called the Jamaat-e-islami. The socio-political institutions in rural areas, of Kashmir which had no philosophy of its own and were not politically educated by their power wielding benefactors inevitably accepted that which happens to be fasionable. A formula was discovered which would gather fundamentalist landlords, puritian orchardist, congress socialists, national conference 'Naya Kashmiri' and diggers, merchants and artisans into the fold of a single social theory – Maududis social and political philosophy of course material and ideological changes went together.

In its early phase, (1953-1970) Jamaat in rural areas, especially in northern district of Kashmir-District Baramulla

and district Kupwara, and in the South Kashmir-Pulwama and Anantnag district was not a mass party but one with selected cadre members, engrossed in the spade work-establishing educational institutions and moulding its teacher trainers ideologically During this phase, except in Holy Relic agitation, the organisation remained aloof from agitational and electrol process, engrossed itself in propoganda work and functioned as vote banks of congress legislators for which they were rewarded generously admission to professional colleges, recruuitment of pro Jamaat personnel into educational institutions and general administration.

On the ascendancy of Mr. Qasim and his cohorts to state power, and policy adopted by Indira Congress to utilize Jamaat for containing Sheikh's influence in the valley, Jamaat was persuaded to participate in elections as a political party, Jamaat having an active understanding with Congress (I) returnied its seven members to the legislative assmebly. It achieved its objective of political respectability. It had no shallow roots in rural sector. It felt confident that as an organisation it was not isolated from popular suppot. The election victory of 1972 took aback and surprised its opponents, anti Jamaat and anti Mir Qasim group, who got defeated in the electoral process. The field was clear for the Jamaat to make a clean sweep and spawn in the valley. The political circles in the valley felt its strength and did not dismiss it as a political non-entity. After its electoral victory, it tended to function as a pressure group rather than as a political party. It acquired firm grip over the educational institutions schools, colleges, professional colleges and Universities. It spread its tentacles in the administration, medical institutes, Hospitals, judiciary. It had exercised a powerful influence on the media, Radio, Television and State cultural academy. Its tantacles are believed to have extended everywhere so that its opponents live in fear. With patience, tact it won the government patronage, and succeeded in creating a cognizable political clout in the villages.

Gradually it cultivated a militant element in the party namely 'Al-Fatah' in sixties in alliance with Plebiscite Front organisation led by Mirza A. Beg. The left over of these

outfits are associated with, especially, the Islami-Jamiyat-Tulba, the student organisation of the Jamaat, it gradually developed into an armed wing on the eve of Armed insurgency in Kashmir.

The rising capitalist farmer (Rich peasant and orchardist) has both the capitalist spirit and fundamentalist ethics, therefore are good deal more complex, compared to the poltically pre reform villager-having non-communal approach to politico-social affairs. The new disposition is markedly different-more conservative elements in village society-the peasants, the craftsman and many landed gentry and that concetpion found expression in politics and religion.

Darkness From Where? Jammat Anad R.S.S.

The Kashmir Jamaat is ideologically oriented to 'Mnsoora' brand of Islam, Mansoora being the head-quarters of Jammat in Pakistan, "The Jammat preaches reactionary onbscurantist ideolog and tries to justify it with quotations from 'Holy Quran' and their own specific interpretation of the same. They preach establishment of theocratic state. The definition of 'Shariat' (Islamic) includes, 'Ijma' (consensus) 'Oiyas' (Analogy) 'Ijtihad,' (reinterpretation of Islamic laws) as part of the 'Shariat.' 'In their political bebate about Islamic state, the Jammat stands for Ijtihad but at the same time derides the the method proposed by modernist Sir Sayeed, Shibli, Azad, Hali and Iqbal, for achieving it under present conditions, by legitimizing representative democracy in the name if 'Ijma,' Jammat contends against this, that this could not lead to a reliable interpretation of Islam, for the voters may not be muslim and even if they are they may not have true understanding of Islam, such as only Maududy and his followers have. Such an argument leads to negation of democracy and authoritarian, Fascist position. Such an elitism is in contradiction to the central principle in Islam, namely that Ijtihad by the 'alim' the man of religious learning because an individual, however hlearned he may be is fallible but God 'Allah' in his mercy would not allow error. This has been recognised as the principle of Democracy in Islam, The

Jammat ideology, while insisting on Ijtihad, in effect rejects 'Ijma.' 44.

Hence 'Jammat' represents a sect, tries to impose its sectarian thinking over all others. The correct position is to accept secular conception of the politics and state so that every individual, would be able to participate in the democratic process.

The present fundamentalism – an historical anachronism in Kashmir – Rise of Muslim United Front as Political Alternative.

The Congress in post Sadiq period and national Conference after passing away of S.M. Abdullah, ideologically were tailists to Jamat. None faced them ideologiclaly and politically but were competing to curry favour with the Jamat. Jamat became a mosnter devoured and eroded the peasant base of National Conference and Congress. On the eve of election the Unted Front of political parties came into existence in the valley called 'Muslim Front.' After elections Jammat through its mass front, M.U.F. emerged as an alternative, overshadowing Congress and National conference. Today it has assumed the position of vanguard of Armed insurgency. Its armed wing 'Hizb' trusted by Pakistan, led by ISI has attained domineering position in sustaining insurgency.

The advent of Islam in Kashmir is an unique process. In its harmonious interaction it influenced the doctirne of 'Advita Savism and in its historial process developed its own brand of mysticism, sufism which abounds in the milk of humanism and religious tolerance preached by the school of indigenous Rishis. On the basis of humanism it gave birth to modern nationalism, secularism, secular politics and radical socio-economic programmes. The fundamentalism and fanaticism preached by Jamat is alien to islam, essence of Islam is in its concept — Ijtihad' reinterpretation in changing conditions. "Allah particularly detests those who are unwilling to subject their fundamental ideas to re-examination : such people are the worst of all in his eyes (8:23 of 10: 100) Islam is compatible with change and growth. Islam should not be looked only from the angle of

revivalism but it essence i.e. Rationalism: it requires a serious consideration and comprehension if dynamic revolutionary concept of Islam is to be defended and further developed.

The common Kashmiri peasant — poor and middle is not revivalist, moulded in the tradition of 'Rishis,' a liberal mystic trend, historically evolved by Nund-Rihsi and Lalla Ded. Traditionally Kashmir valley is called 'Peer Wari — a land of Rishis.

The situation today is different, though Jammat does not have a mass appeal, and influence among peasantry, but it is considered most consistent proponent of secession, its cadre has capacity to mobilize villages, as was done by plebiscite Front led by S.M. Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg in the previous phase till signing of Accord in 1975. Jamat has succeeded in building power of effective political action in the districts of Baramulla, Kupwar and Pulwama. A substantial segment of peasantry is under their active political influence and ideological impact. Anti secular and secessionist stance are nurtured and sustained through massive propaganda beaming across the border — the catalyst and main lever in this thought process is Jamaat. Prior to any fresh political initiative in Kashmir and new approaches are made this hard fact must be taken cognisance of. The villages where Jammat has penetrated, have turned into arsenal of secessionist movement and armed insurgency.

The Emergence of Kashmiri Lumpen in Politics and Process of Lumpenization :

The process of lumpenization is on in Kashmir' since sixties. About 50 crores of charas smuggling (hashish) is estimated to be taking place annually since sixties. Subsequent to 'Golden crescent' an operation of drug trafficking extending to network of routes covering the areas of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan, a discovery has been made of new drug routes in Pak occupied Kashmir. The revelation has been made by a Pakistani drug courier at Oslo internationa Airport. The existence of drug laboratories in Muzzafarabad — capital of P.O.K., Dir etc. "Heroin derived from opium, comes to India

from two points and from India to Western countries... Itg comes firstly through the land routes from Pakistan via Punjab and Rajasthan. Militants in Kashmir also bring it in. kashmir also has its own popy. Bags of popy are exhcnaged for guns and ammunition. Recently a country in the Middle east gave the equivalent of a years earnings from tourism in normal timcs to the militants. It has also been established that Punjab and Kashmir militants are in touch and know each others strategy. The Pakistan route through which heroin is pushed into India is known as the golden crescent" (Nexus between narcocotics and terrorism — Promilakalhan — The Kashmir Times 17-9-1991. The Azad Kashmir and Pakistan is 'Bhang' — 'Drug' smugglers paradise. This motivates lumpens to hanker after Pakistan. THe source pumps big money tinto the coffers of lumpens and lumpen capitalist smugglers — commonly called 'Neo Khawajas' (nouve riche), even bureaucracy is involved in the shady deals. Govenrment of India from the outset of its operation closed its eyes and allowed traffic to be on. Add to it drug traffic, heroin, brown sugar, surfaced since seventies. From this social base sprouted lumpen class, it constitutes one of the vital semgne tof insurgency, even this element is decried by other militant outfits as anti social's off and on, for their grave crimes — extortion, molestation etc. Timbr smugglers, (wood thieves) can be brackted with this category also. Lumpen centre of operations have surfaced in Bhang growing areas teemaing with lumpens. Rural areas generate conservative and stagnant semi-employment of large strata of the poorest peasantry; eleducated unemployed and cesspool of all kinds of semi declass elements. This social structure gives birth to lumpen proletarians, lumpen capitalists, lumpen pseudo intellectuals, lumpen artisans.

"Lumpens have developed their own ideology, and it is their representative who emerge as the founders and backbones of a number of highly powerful lumpen organisation,s osme of which, in structure and function are reminiscent of secret societies with their own 'code of conduct and honour.' These are largely thieves. Or bandit organisations, which often take part (albeit invisbly) in political life." [45]

The social composition of lumpens constitutes conservative body and have close nexus with propertied classes. In politics, the class takes basically anti-progressive, conservative stance, cynicism, total permissiveness, callousness, rancour, indifference, nonchalance, and an instinctive aversions for ideals are the main characteristics of lumepsn. The large mass of lumpens elements follow right wing, semi-fascist organisations.

The Kashmiri lumpens have penetrated the militant and insurgent movement in a big way and with gun-totting strike terror among people. Their slogan is, 'Join terrorists and get rich.' The lumepsn ahve friends in the police as well as in the civil administrations. The trigger happy lumpens, have expanded the militant mass base. Many political elements of all parties are linked to smugglers and militants. Recruitment of militants has swelled in terrorist ranks, mostly youngesters that at worst they will have to spend a few months in jails. Meantime, they will be able to amass a good eeal of wealth through extortion. In certain places, the degeneration of ideals of youngesters has been on the increase. Not lonbg ago, a group of terrorists kidnapped a Gujjar girls and gang raped her. The JK Liberation Front took notice of this incident and tried to punish them.

The lumpens are virtually running a parallel government in certain areas. Within a few months, they collect lakhs from various rich people, corrupt officials and engineers. Even in certain instance, some of these militant say, "we will collect five to six lakhs in a ver short time. If we go Jaila, we are sure to come out after a few months. If we get killed we will become martyrs."

The Lumpens even interfere in the development work and succeed in stopping the construction work especially of bridges, one of the instances is delipidated bridge at Bijbehara, district Anantnag. The engineers are threatened. The fear of the gun regins supreme in the administrative sphere and developmental staff-engineers etc.

Kashmiri Rootless Youth

The problem of youth in Kashmir is a complex one and needs in depth analysis and study. With four percent literacy in 1931 (pre-independence period) the microscopic minority of Kashmiri educated youth has to its credit the glorious tradition of anti-imperialist, anti feudal struggle in the state. From it developed a well organised leadership headed by S.M. Abdullah, G.M. Sadiq. Maulana Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi, P.N. Bazaz and others. Todays youth lacks ideological and political clarity. The majority of students are under the influence of reactionary politics of R.S.S. and Jammat-E-Islami and such other communal, secessionist and militant organisations. For about a decade, since dismissal and imprisonment of S.M. Abdullah and others, students in Kashmir were in a state of euphoria and obsessed with negative slogans. Some groups among them mostly lumpens are reared and nurtured by dubious agencies, one of whose aims is to obliterate any sign of democratic and secular politics in the stduent community of state and have succeded in their heinous desins. Post independence period by and large gave rise to a lumpen development in Kashmir. The 'charas' smuggling, corruption, tax evasion, black marketing, non taxable orchard maoney, accumulation in transport sector monopolized by a class, a certain shady class of contractors and ruhtless deforestation has created a class not of producers but lumpen bourgeosie. This is the socio-economic background of students, youth belonging to this class The leadership of various groups of students is mostly drawn from this class. Such type of leadership has been responsible for fundamentalist outfits like Jammat-Tulba, organising student outbursts of reactionary nature and of fundamentalist, communalist character. This type of leadership has led student community to confuse India with imperialist state. They do not know that Indian people through their liberation struggle gave crushing blow to world imperialist system. Most sections of youth have all praise for 'military-feudal and bureaucratic state of Paksitan and would like to merge with it. By raising anti-India and anti-secular slogans, such leadership of students belonging mostly upper layers of

society is quite understandable. By raising such slogans, these groups (sons of corrupt bureaucrats, engineers, contractors charas smugglers) divert the attention of general mass of students from real movement — struggle against corruption, rigging of elections and building sound, viable socio-economic system in the state. The bulk of mass of students, sons of lwoer middle class and poor peasants is dominated by so called leaders, mostly neo-rich cum bureaucratic. This stratum of youth has taken up arms and were initiators of armed insurgency.

"At the same time, there is no doubt that many youths are frustrated and sullen and feel that the only way for tem to attract attention is with the gun. Political leaders do not enthuse them and the Jammat-E-Islami, which impresed them when many among thjem owed allegiance to 'Jamiat-Tulba,' the student wing, does not provide an answer to their immediate problems of neglect and unemployment.... The solution is an independent Islamic state of Kashmir," says Ali Shah Gilani, Chief of the Jammat. But the youth see the hypocrisy because Gillani swore to uphold the integrity and unity of India before contesting the state Assembly election.... They are also worried about the spectre of Hindu communalism which they believe is beginning to raise its head in the country. Their fear is that as muslims they face danger to their entity and culture. Not knowing the overwhelming strength of secular forces in India, the youth who talked to me wondered what the future held for them."[46]

Mr Kuldip Nayyar, an eminent liberal journalist in his analysis of rise of militancy among Kashmiri youth misses the most vital link in the whole process — anti India sentiment — spearheaded by the Plebiscite Front, 'Mahaz Azadi,' the Al-Fatah and the peoples league, predominently youth organisations. the elections of 1977 and 1983, were fought and won on the basis of 'Kashmiriat,' by National Conference, identity was not given meaning in economic, political and cultural terms but presented in the chauvnist form of Muslim identity. It is this anti-India sentiment which laid the foundation of Kalinshokov culture, among the youth.

'Operation-Topac' mounted by President Zia-ul-Huq was a well planned and sophisticated effort to infiltrate the Pak trained saboteurs into the educational institutions among teachers and students, an inflammable material in the politics of insurgency. The entire Kashmiri population was exposed to the sustained anti-India propoganda for a length of time. In this backdrop, for the first time in the history of elections in cntinuation of 'Operation Topac' plan, kashmiri youth in large number participated in elections held in 1987 and were avantegarde in conducting the election of M.U.F.

Intelligence reports suggest, in accordance with prior plan, that majority of Kashmiri youths who crossed over to Pakistan occupied Kashmir following 1987 elections were welcomed by Pak Intelligence with open arms and pushed them back in the valley after giving them training in handling sophisticated arms.

10

Kashmir Press & Human Rights :

(What we Argue About)

Press in Kashmir in pre independence and post independence phase, manifests sharp ideological, political divergencies in its approaches to the problem of communalism, and secularism,. In pre independence phase, political differences were discernible in the leading newspapers of the State — 'Khidmat' edited by M. Sayeed Masoodi and 'Hamdard' by P.N. Bazaz, but on national issues, secular outlook, rennaissance and Democracy views were similar. Many other papers in English and Urdu languages were published also, but these two papers had largest circulation by the standars and literacy percentages prevalent at that time. The situation in post independence phase of Kashmir was critical for the press, draconian laws and curbs on press were order of the day.

The peoples 'right to know' and "the free access to and circulation of knowledge" are recognised all over the world, for without these democratic principles representative governments would be reduced to authoritarian power structures. The citizens 'right to know the truth' relating to any public issues is fundamental and cannot be encroached upon by the government.' But this basic right to know, and free circulation of knowledge was trampled underfoot for so many years in Kashmir.

The vevents took a shapr turn, there was thaw in the realm of journalistic pursuits, newspapers surfaced on the scene, but the peoples 'right to know' was polluted, misused. Essentially and in historical sense, the slogan of the peoples right to know is to be progressive and reflect democratic aspirations and values. In the Kashmir's socio-political and

intellectual context, it does mean a great deal. To pander to crass sentiments of people is not 'professionalism' but sensationalism. It is not patriotism. Look to the files of dailies of Srinagar, during the Bangla Desh episode, on Kashmir problem you can mark the stance. the canards were spread regarding papers holding principle of professionalism as values. You can make a difference to peruse the files of the daily Chinar edited by the writer.

The problem of suppression of facts in dark areas of Pak politics: Suppression of civil liberties, violation of Human rights during military regimes, non projections of democratic struggles by people in Pakistan against enemies of democracy, threat of muslim fundamentalism an hydra headed monster raising its head, risings of people against puppet regimes in P.O.K. and corrupt involvement of successive Pak regimes in massive scandles. Examine the files of leading Urdu Newspapers in the valley since 1965 till upto date; you will find the cynical and amoral stand point and judgement of values as reflected in the Kashmir media and the self serving reading of the Pak situation. There are journalists and journalists but if there is one organising principle in a field where there are embarassingly few defined rules of the game. The right to know can be guaranteed only when vigilant public opinion exists, not only to defend the right t know but also to deepen it to cover all sectors of information.

Since the advent of terror culture in Kashmir, in the domain of journalism a serious conflict has appeared in the concept of professionalism versus nationalism, secularism etc. It would be hard to find examples of valour, self sacrifice, endurance, of much pain and suffering and tension comparable to Punjabi journalists. However there are shining examples where Kashmiri journalists were victims of terror culture — 'Aftab' were seriously attacked. Exaperation sets in, not because of threats but opportunism and double standards in the profession. Newspapers have to face extremist threats, at the gun point they are forced to carry statements of militants, look to so called advertisements -individuals submitting to terrorist dictates or to atone past mistakes. Even militants dictate and

evolve code of conduct to journalists.

But there is not only fear of gun, which motivates newspapers in the state to publish matter of militants. Journalists, newspapers believe in the professionalism - dictates of militants regarding regressive social reforms - veil (Burqa) restricted marriage parties, closure of cinema Houses, certain prescribed dress etc. But there is no fault finding with news media, government itself caves in, frequence of change in stances — to contain terrorism with iron hand, now announcing the need for political process.

"There is a classic dilemma,. between the declared censorship of the terrorists and the guide lines issued by the government.... newspapers cdaught in similar situations face to choose between 'professionalism' and the large interests of the country. 'Professionalism demands that news, however unsavoury to the government must get into the papers. On the other hand the 'largest interests of the country demand that any news item or comment which defeats the goals set by the govenrment must be kept out."[47]

There is no newsperson in the valley unlike Jammu, who can claim that it has fought separatism and secessionism. There has been criticis, that these 'Newspapers' from valley have pandered to Muslim communalism.

It is difficult in these circmstances to evolve with consistency and maintain the voluntary code of conduct - as journalist's are sandviched between the threats of terrorists and government curbs.

It is not irrelevant to mention the mushroom growth of dailies and weeklies preceding the phase of militancy in the valley. This yellow journalism in most cases was sponsored by dubious agencies with specific directions regarding the Kashmir's national movemetn and historical personages. It was full of abuse of history, political distortions and character assassinations. S.M. Abdullah' as life story is not free from negative aspects and influences, but his life career is also full of glorious pages — freedom struggle, nationalist and secular politics, antifeudal

and anti-imperialist struggle a vital instrument in the political awakening of the state people. This particular 'journalist junk' tried to shatter his personality, an ignoble attempt to tarnish his image. In this design there was concurrence of congress (I) too.

The conversion of muslim conference into national conference was deemed an act of treachery and accession of state to India the result of an intrigue by Nehru-Abdullah, an hoax perpetuated on the state people. Such acts of Goebbelesian propaganda and demolition of images of historical mould can be easily inferred the handiwork of Inter Service Intelligence of Paksitan.

The fudging - concealing of information is not an internal issue, confined to state, the journalists, newspersons and media outside the state resort to such practices - cynical and amoral. The issue of the case of atrocity allegedly committed in village Kunnan-Poshpora in district Kupwara (Kashmir) and involvement of the army, the enabling arrangement for them, irresponsible involvement of the govenrment of the day, also crisis management and cover up by the Verghese committee, is obviously not an issue to be viewed in isolation. There are several aspects and issues — to question of injustice, to policy matters internal as well as external — which matter a great deal. Moreso of course, is the manifest role of the government and its shameful course of obstructing justice and suppressing facts to protect those whose hands are trapped in the till.

The Verghese committee initiative in the 'Pospora affair' was not of its own but it was taken on the request by the Army to conduct an investigation and verify impartially the local media stories about the atrocities allegeldy committed by it. 'Pospora' incident was followed by fresh cases of atrocities — reported by both national and international press.

The Verghese report is voluminous — and runs into about 200 pages. He has been forthright and frank about the causes of the failure of press in the state to register its protest and rise to occasion. But the report is not free from infirmaties

and glarant defects. The committee did not follow normal procedure, such an act on the part of Verghese — a man of integrity has raised doubts about the authenticity of report. The Verghese committee report betrays cover up,m secrecy and hold - not on the basis of any evidence but on the basis of its own opinion — facts are facts, opinions can vary. Medical Officer, D.M. categorically, Divisonal Commissioner to a certain extent does not reject the rape charge. Verghese committee does not quote any medical authority in support of its opinion.

The Verghese committee report, compiled by eminent journalists of the country, members of worthy press institution 'Press Council' of India is classic example of 'Fudging'.

To identify and differentiate violation of human rights is a delicate job. It is controversial too, it is an issue of affirmation and denial-a long chain of arguments and counter arguments. To quote Anotionio Gramaci, "The violation of human rights of state withers away by degrees, as ever more conspicious eleements of vicil society make their appearance. A true writer is a patriot and patriotism means love for the people and not for a piece of land.

Love for the motherland should mean identificaiton with the pain and misery of the people. What is all this talk for Jehad? The first pre-requisite is the establishment of a policy based on human dignity, justice and harmony. There is no merit in self defence perse.

A human rightist, journalist and writer call for a human approach in the present phase of Jammu and Kashmir state. A human approach tis to be cultivated and a considerate policy evolved to distinguish and differentiate between innocent people and guilty. A balance is to be struck between terrorism and state terrorism. The main condition of successful struggle, against insurgency in Kashmir is the active defence of human rights against insurgency and state terrorism. Here is the job, a sacred one that developes on a writer, newsperson, journalist.

Besides doyns of Indian journalism-Kuldip Nayyar, Verghese Pran Chopra etc. one should take off ones that to the

commendable role of Jammu press, journalists who maintained equanimity, quiescent state, repose, countered terrorism and state terrorism through their writings in the balance, counterpoise and even distribution of weight.

The Non-Enigmatic Sphinx — Terror and Other Terror

Oncoming armed insurgency and polarization took by surprise the leadership of secular parties — National Conference, Congress (I), Janta Dal. Since then, these parties are in a state of paralysis, tottaly inactivated. The organisational structures as constituted tumbled down like house of cards. After some killings by terrorists mainly of National Conference activists, whom they considered incorrigible, the queues of political cadres lined up before newspaper offices with the advertisements — submitting to terrorist dictates or to atone past mistakes. A spinless lot unlike Punjab. There wcould be no political process to see the trend is reversed and restore activity. Many leaders, rank are secretly in hand and glove with militant outfits, sympathetic and even their family members — sons etc have wormed their way in the womb of terrorists — some of their kith and kin are involved in terrorist acts. Wealthy nd rich office bearers of pro-Indian organisations, make regular payments to these militant outfits. There are all kinds of former leaders of Kashmir — Dr Farooq Abdullah left Kashmir is out in London. Syed Mir Qasim in USA and Mufti Mohd Sayeed. in Delhi. Many more leaders and workers live as migrants in Delhi and Jammu.

"The erstwhile leaders of the valley, irrespective of their political affiliations need to do some heart searching now. It is for them to ponder why their very presence in the valley is an anthema to the people."[48]

Such is the sad state of affairs on the political scene of Kashmir.

The political cadres of all nationalist organizations have disintegrated. There may be many of them there still who can be revived. I am not in a position to say. It is stark reality and hard fact that neither the congress party nor the national

conference and Janata Dal or the other pro-Indian secular elements have been able in this whole period to revive their activities; political activties in the valley.

Muslim united Front leadership, some of them liberal and moderates are in prison. There have been several attempts to initiate a dialogue with them but of no availa. The leadership has been taken over by hot heads, extremists, the main lever of which is 'Jamat-E-Islami, its armed wing is 'Hizb' led by Ahsan Dar; its supremo and functioning under the command and directions o fInter Service Intelligence Paksitan. There are some sections of Muslim Intelligentsia both in service and retired who throuh their writings by offering advice guide militant outfits tactically. But I.S.I's direction is the sacred and supreme.

Presently there are a large number of terrorist organisations functioning in Jammu and Kashmir with the names of Arabic derivation. The major outfits are : (1) J&K Liberation Front — it stands for Independence of Kashmir State, (2) Hizbul-Mujahideen— it is an armed wing of fundamentalist Jammat, stands for merger with Pakistan. (3) Al-Umar Mujahideen — it comprises of down town belt, Bukras (goats) — nick name given by S.M. Abdullahs followers since 1932 led by Maolvi Yousuf Shah — Mirwaiz, who fled to Paksitan in 1947, opposed National Conference and accession to India. This organization has remained consistent pro-Pakistani in the past as Muslim conference and subsequently Awami Action Committee headed by Moulvi Farooq (4) Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen (5) Allah Tigers (6) The Muslim Janbaz Force are small action groups which create terror and spread fundamentalist message.

Muslim Liberation Front, Islami Students League, People's League, Dukhtran-E-Millat (Womens wing), Mahaz-E-Azadi are exponents of Islamization and merger with paksitan and are affiliated groups of Jamat-E-Islami." There are as many 29 subversive groups functioning in J&K with training base in POK. According to published reports some 20,000 yongmen (Kashmiri) are trained and armed by Paksitan for subversion and violence. Muslim Liberation Front is politically oriented

group and its political posture is autonomy and self-determination.

The operational plan of these terrorists is well planned, have resources at their disposal ranging from weapons, firearms and well knit intelligence system and sufficiently manned infrastructure.

Mostly, the activities of a number of terrorist organizations are dictated by fundamentalism or religious aspirations. The motivation for terrorism is an activity mainly dictated by ideological factors, rather than a fit of hysteria or the desire to make money through exotrtion. As such, terrorism represents political problem and can be faced politically. A Romantic aura and martyrs crown of thorns can, indeed, evoke sympathy and compassion. The compassion, sympathy towards terrorists is a roused among people as valiant fighters agaisnt so called 'IUndian Hindu Imperialism' defenders of Islamic faith. The main aim of terrorists is not to eliminate individuals, the intention is to intimidate society. "Kill one, frighten ten thousand' is an old chinese saying.

To resort to terrorist acts, is by itself, an indicator of political weakness. Terrorism alone is incapable of achieving very much except provoke most serious social upheavals, the danger of economic havoc. The fire consuming the fuse is amall, but the fuse is attached to a bomb. There are divergences between rural guerilla movement and urban terrorism as witnessed in the valley. In rural areas the target are military objectives, urban objective is a cheering a psychological reaction and panic. The battles are replaced with petty clashes and treacherous attacks on the hit and run principle.

The Kashmiri terrorism evolved the concept of selective killings, attempts on Prominent political figures, kidnapping political and official san dkeeping them hostages but also systematically resorted to random terror, planting bombs in heavily crowded areas. In the terrorist terminology it is referred as a 'Bomb Philosophy.' The bomb philosophy always embodies the terrorists convictions which are more or less illusory or less imaginary. Many terrorist actions are carried

out speciafically for the purposes of publicity — abduction of Swedish engineers, jews and Dooruswamy.

"The chief driving force behind terrorist action is the terrorists need for self expression and self assertion in any form at any cost, though many of them, hypnotized by thei rown demagogy, do ot realize this. While striving to appear and feel an original and important being, the terrorist is virtually in ordinary imitator, a creature of the herd instinct. He is a forgery, not an original. The one thing that is real in his life is the blood he sheds." [49] Are terrorists really religious and are acts speciafically determined by tenents of religion? To unmask it, one should explain and reveal true essence of religions — compassion, humanness, and the first pre-requisite of 'Jehad' — establishment of a policy based on human dignity, justice and harmony. There is no moral merit in self defence per se. To analyse terrorism, "the slogans and the relationship between the terrorists ideological and political precepts with their social and psychological motivations and impulses has to be understood. Elementary, yet important questions have to be answered : Whernce did they come and who they are, these men and women, who allow themselves to dispose of others lives in the name of their notions of 'benefit of mankind'? What does this benefit actually mean? And how does the consciousness of these uncalled - for - do - gooders combine their allegedly human premise with their misanthropic practices?..... Political assassination forms the core of terrorist tactics. A recourse to terrorism is, by itself, an indicator of political weakness.... From explosions and arsons to attack on people, from clashes with annonymous adversaries to political assassinations attempts on specific individuals, from political kidnappings with subsequent release of the hostages to premediated murder, from planting bombs and firing shots from distance to cold blooded shooting down defenceless prisoners at point blank range, from attacks on political enemy to executions of their own comrades suspected of treason or merely a desire to renege on terrorism - thus evolved not only the methods of terrorism; such was the psychological evolution of the terrorists themselves, described by those escaping from the terrorist underground as the spiral of Hell."50.

Is it not the picture of ongoing Kashmir terrorism, truly reflective in all its manifestations. A politically weak being who resorts to terror is to be involved in political process, wrong notions about 'Jehad,' Hindu imperialism, secularism and Indian democracy to be cleared from his mind mostly among misguided youth. It is here where fault lies with political parties ruling the state — their leaders and cadre, who were not keen about political process, dialogue and real politics but political chicanery. If there are clouds in the sky today in our state, this does not mean that man has ceased to exist — It has simply disappeared from view for a while. There is much talk about conflict and confrontation between 'Hizb' and JKLF on the question of independence and merger with Pakistan and it is said that ISI does not hold the latter in trust and all assistance — money and material has been stopped to it. The problem of independence has appeal in POK, where people have experienced the arbitrary rule of Pak ruling class, domination of Punjabis denial of democratic rights. The slogan of independence is popular in POK. In Kashmir its adherents are peripheral — intelligentsia and a section of followers in national conference. This slogan emerged in 1953, raised by S.M. Abdullah. It was vehemently opposed by intelligentsia in general and Mirwaiz's followers — Awami Action committee too.

To me it still appears a subterfuge, the Jamat, Al-Umar and other sattelite terrorist outfits and intelligentsia are in favour of merger with Pakistan. J&K Liberation is not secular. They were first to strike terror among minorities by indiscriminate killings. Let us watch the conflict and do not draw hasty wishful inferences.

Kashmir Govt. Falls to take Initiative

"I would remind you that among these militant groups which are there in the valley, as far we understand it, not all of them are for merger with Pakistan. The Jamaat-E-Islami stands for the merger of Kashmir with Paksitan. But, for example, the J&K Liberation Front does not stand for merger with Pakistan at all. They say yes, we want to be free

independent — independent of India, independent of Pakistan. There is an occupied area of Kashmir on the other side of the border, occupied by Pakistan where we are told all sorts of internal trouble are now taking place. But we have no line of communication with anybody.

When it comes to Kashmir, what happens about other people in the world who are witnessing what they consider to be a war of liberation by the people of Kashmir? Neither our media nor our propaganda, nor our method of administering that place, nothing is helping us is any way.... The fact remains that there is armed insurgency going on in the Kashmir valley and it has acquired a higher dimension now. They are able to launch counter attacks against our security forces; they are able to carry out ambushes; they have sophisticated weapons of every sort. Therefore it is a kind of miniature war".[51]

Kashmir — the Other Terrorism

There is also, "The other Terrorism" or state terrorism. For those who are not living in Kashmir it is just not possible to feel or comprehend what the people of this state (J&K) are going through. Reports and findings of 'Committee for initiative on Kashmir' to the valley are horrible and alarming besides narration of Human Rights organisations. The aircities and excesses committed by para-military and police forces at 'Khanyar,' Chotabazar, Zaldagar and 'Sarafkadal' — localities in Srinagar, to quote the prominent Jammu daily, "The madness that is perpetrated in Kashmir valley seems to lack even proverbial method. How else can one explain the security forces marching all the way to 'Chota-Bazar,' traversing the localities of Zaldagar and Sarafkadal, shooting at random in all directions from their sophisticated rifles in supposed retaliation against what the militants did deeper in Srinagar interior at Zainakadal on Tuesday afternoon? These police atrocities have also become a fertile ground for breeding new batches of terrorists and militants. Some human rights groups have gone to Kashmir and collected evidence. They must make sure of their facts. The credibility and the authenticity of their findings

is of great value in the battle against police excesses "unless this tyranny is put to an end, the word state terrorism will become part of the political lexicon in our country."

R.K. Misra, Punjab (Courtsey Patriot)

There is a need for introspection and self criticism. There was a planned mobilization by Hindu communalist organisations for abrogation of article 370 granting special status to Kashmir, that the appeasement of the minorities must stop. Militancy arises only after months and years of unnoticed alienation. Prior Jagmohan was installed Governor, there were violations by crowds of curfew, encounters should have been avoided with tact. Did someone from Delhi ordered to adopt tough measures? There was no urgency to confront mobs with rifle fire, when violations of curfew occurred. It was appropriate to withdraw forces at strategical centres. Every student of Indian History knows the damage which Jalianawalla Bagh did to British rule. True answer to the turmoil of Kashmir is internal.

It's true that in any operation, the people of the valley have been caught between two fires, state terror and subversive terror. There may be people who object the equating the two. They may be motivated by noble aspirations, the net result is the same - the killings and harassment of the innocent people.

Every operation is not favourable and advantageous for security forces. They are handicapped too. The confrontation with a determined guerilla force, there is always the danger of heavy toll of innocent lives. How far this has happened in the Kashmir valley needs to be examined. The Human Rights groups which have of late brought serious, perturbing reports on this count are also handicapped by the fact that many such on the spot survey without any scope of verification, exaggerations are natural because in many cases secessionist can certainly invent stories with fantastic details and present them as factual reports as part of their smearing campaign. However, even with such exaggerations, one has to concede that the human rights aspects has to prevail in the governments agenda, and its is the duty of the public and parliament in our set up to bring this into focus.

"If we forget the man behind a rebel, if we fail to take note of his feelings, his wants, troubles, problems and his ambitions, the thron of insurgency will not easily be removed from the country's flesh... we should be more concerned with the man behind weapons than the weapons themselves."[52]

An eminent journalist and former editor of 'The Times of India' (dated August, 22, 1990) in his political commentary captioned, "Fighting Secession and Terror" writes "For their part, government authorities ought to be ashamed of some of their grave errors and shortcomings. Despite the experience in Punjab, to say nothing of the North East in the distant past, no one has made the slightest attempt to educate the CRPF the B.S.F. and other para military personnel deployed in Kashmir in the delicacy of their mission."

The militants constitute the non-enigmatic sphinx. They try to assume the right to remould others to their own image through terror and blackmail. Prof. H.H.A. Cooper Clarifies this in his statement. The answer to why one person becomes terrorist while another does not to be found in the individual..... (Political Terrorism, Vol. 2 Edoly lister — by Lister A. Sobel, Facts on the file, New York, 1978, P-6). W Salekis replies this query : "Anyone can become a terrorist. It is not a question of pre-disposition or character, but of indvidual experience and development." Terrorism Vol. III No. 3, 4 1980, P. 222." In indviduals process of becoming terrorist it cannot be completely denied the role of social conditions and political pressures. No one is born a terrorist. The outlook determines the making of a terrorist, it developes with the growth of individual in his family, under concrete social conditions. Their psychological preparedness is motivated by ideological arguments (fundamentalism) and political slogans – secession and merger with Pakistan. So called fear of irreligious secularism and Hindu India. Further this type of disposition that feeds their illusion and sustains them is practical assistance, and when concrete social gronds exist for resorting to armed violence. The sons of well to do families and wretched of the earth'; become terrorists, the former rebel against the bounty of their closed families and latter being deprived children —

lost both parents, orphans.

Terrorist company consists of idealist dreamers, pragmatists, passive, inert individuals, and those having the qualities of leadership and adventurists; idlers who hate any kind of work and are parasites or live by odd job, and also capable people who have not adjusted in society and those after achieving certain goals in life are tired of humdrum and routine existence. The terrorist fixes targets that are beyond his abilities, and, thus in reality is non-entity. They suffer from inferiority complex and hence resorts to manipulating the lives of others.

"Not only is intellectual level of terrorists usually quite low, but, contrary to popular belief, they do not possess strong will power or staunch characters either. The widespread of 'men of steel,' ascetic and fanatic fighters for an idea is obviously groundless. This myth would seme to have a firm basis : "Are you prepared to die"? "Yes I am."[53]

(Jacques Kaufman op. cit. P. 117)

The above analysis substantiates the tenability of argument that state terrorism is no answer to eliminate terrorism. In Kashmir, it is India's commitment to democracy and secularism, efforts should be made to persuade the militants to return to the fold. The maintenance of law and order and at the same time acting upon principles of justice in the teeth of treason, terrorism and abduction is what is expected from democratic set up.

The common man in Kashmir has understood the rationale behind Pak abetted designs that unrest continues unabatted in Kashmir as it provides them the pretext to incite religious feeling in them and through it have brought the Kashmiri youth and whole of Kashmir to the brink of disaster.

11

Kashmir Imbroglio :

(What Needs to be Done?)

Multi-dimensional Kashmir problem has assumed a protracted form. It has dragged on so far without either a proper understanding of its complex history or nature or solution in sight. In the meanwhile, lives are being lost every day — some people get killed or injured by terrorists or anti social elements and some by the para-military forces. Age old familiar bonds between mulsims and hindus are being strained, entire Kashmiri Pandit community has migrated to plains. Muslims tend to be alienated from the main-stream of national life; due to hostage problem inter-regional conflict and tension has been developing - they are becoming suspect all over India. Though the sins of the centre are numerous and cannot be ignored, it would be wrong at the same to ignore the roots of phenomenon we have to deal with - its global setting, its link with south Asian regions peace and cooperation. Kashmir problem cannot be clubbed together with 'Khalistan' issue in Punjab. Both have distinct specific characteristics.

The basis have to be evolved so that positive political action has to follow for taking Kashmir back to normalcy and solving the crisis faced by the state. The first step must be to initiate action against the culprits of 'Kunan Poshpora,' Khanyar, Chottabazar, Zaldagar indiscriminate killings.

Kashmir government fails to take initiative. The political leaders of the calibre of Dr. Abdullah, Syed Mir Qasim and Mufti Mohd. Sayeed have abandoned the people and disappeared from the political scene of J&K State. The political workers of

various political parties, being political migrants are rotting in Delhi and Jammu.

Take off hats to Moulvi Mohd. Sayeed Masoodi, architect of Freedom Movement in Kashmir, he did not leave his people, stood like rock and was assissinated by militants.

"I am afraid the situation in Kashmir appears to be reaching a point of no return. There is no faintest glimmer of light visible at the end of the tunnel. The fact remains that there is armed insurgency going on in the Kashmir valley and it has acquired higher dimensions now. They are able to launch counter attacks against our security forces, they are able to carry out ambushes of every sort. Therefore it is a kind of miniature war... The central problem in Kashmir, as I understand it is 200 per cent bureaucratic administration which has no line of communication with the masses. You may think of some means by which some political initiative is taken to change this totaly bureaucratic, military, police set up and give the people a feeling that there is an opening, a channel and a line of communication by the which they can represent whatever they want to say... But this government since coming to power, does not even express in so many words its intention of holding consultations with political parties, jointly, severally, as you like part us... gradually that National conference organisation, Congress (I) etc. and its cadres have disintegrated. There may be many who can be revived, I am not in a position to say... I do not believe that nothing can be done. Some beginning can be made and has to be made if this considered to be a national problem cutting across all party barriers.[54]

The Euphoria of 'Azadi' though abated and new mood visible among populace compared to fifteen months earlier, still there is wide spread support for secessionists among muslim majority.

The struggle against insurgency must be conducted along a broader front and with a greater foresight than tracking down and arresting members of insurgent groups. The insurgency must be destroyed in the ideological and political sense, i.e. all

illusions concerned, it must be dispelled, it must be deprived of support of that milieu which is still sympathetic, fence sitter and indifferent to it, and a general intolerance towards it must be created. The main condition of successful struggle against insurgency is the active participation of masses and mass political education through media. The democracy must be defended against insurgency and state terrorism, Essentially the problem of insurgency is political one and had to be solved politically.

What is the future of militancy in Kashmir? Examining the world experience of terrorist movements and in particular in depth study of post independence Indian insurgencies, chances are it will fail. The on going Khalistani movement in Punjab for 12 years took a toll of 12000 lives. Secession movements did not succeed anywhere. Take our neighbours, for instance, Sri Lanka has Tamils who want to secede. Pakistan has restive minorities, the Buluchis, Sindhis and Pathans. Bangla Desh unhappy Chakma tribals. Iraq has Kurds. China has Tibetans. The Philippines and Thailand have had insurgencies for 30 years. Nigeria had one province. Biafra, attempted to break away in the late 60s. "Post independent India has seen only three separatist movements that have taken up arms. All three failed. Naga rebels sniped at the Indian Army for 15 years before they made peace with New Delhi. Mizoram was similarly canvulsed by an armed insurrection but after years of guerilla warfare, the Mizo leader, the late Mr Lal Denga, negotiated for peace. The third example is that of Mr. Geishing. He and his Gurkhas also fought for a separate Gorkhaland but agreed to a Gurkha Hill Council eventually. In the same way the secessionist movement in Punjab and Kashmir will also fizzle out though it may take 10, 20 or even 30 years... nagas and Mizos were racially akin to Burmese or Vietnamese, and they had far more support enjoyed by Sikh and Kashmiri militants in Punjab and Kashmir.[55]

There is a new development, historically far reaching and of great significance — declaration of Independence by constituent republics of USSR, a loose confederation emerging on the map of the world. However, as the deliberations at the

recent session of the Supreme Soviet and the congress of the peoples deputies have indicated, a new structure of relationship between the union and republics is being evolved. The republics in future set up will be near soverigns and Kremlin mere a coordinating centre. "On a wider canvas, the upsurge for freedom and democracy in the Soviet central Asian Republics is bound to have its repercussions in Pakistan... so far as our country is concerned the impact of Soviet developments is bound to be felt not only in the trouble tossed Kashmir, Punjab and Assam, but all over the country with our political leaders virtually buying their heads in the sand as the clamour for more powers for the states is coming up in a big way, which no Sarkaria commission can any longer ward off.[56]

This new factor, throwing up concept of loose confederation has reduced still further the chances of Punjab and Kashmir ever becoming full fledged soverign independent states. All the sudden the world realises it cannot see multi ethnic nations breaking up. It is to be seen, what will be shape of things to come, a new experiment of Soviet Union sploitting into dozen states, with a central coordiantion, a confederation and not command system. Changes in USSR, the instrument being its inhabitants, certainly will have its impact on neighbours, it will reshape the face of adjacent states. Foreign policy experts and statesman of the countries have to look beyond their noose to get the idea of new world that is shaping in our neighbourhood.

In Kashmir among the numerous militant groups which are operating in the valley, as far we nderstand it, not all of them are for merger with pakistan. The Jamaat-E-Islami stands for the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. But for example, the J&K. Liberation Front (now an outcaste in the ISI estimations) does not stand for merger with Pakistan at all. They would like Kashmir to be an independent state — independent of India and Pakistan. The plebiscite not being on cards, not popular idea with USA and Britain as it used to be in fifties, Pakistan is perturbed and alarmed about the slogan of independence raised be certain militant outfit.

Secession for us is a serious problem. The stake in

Kashmir is not territory, but whole concept of nation building, secular fabric and concept of India, without which the nation will fall apart. To bring normalcy and stem the terrorist wave is, of course, a just pre-requisite, but that need not preclude a political process, dialogue with the militants. And diplomatic exchange of views and dialogue with Pakistan is msut and we should not shun even in the most crisis ridden situations.

The first step in Kashmir is the problem of restoration of normalcy. A scientific prospective, statesmanship and political wisdom expect from us to look beyond and think about a wider solution of problems based on the spirit of times and the aspirations of the people. Any political dialogue be subjected to this longer term perspective, and the patient about the establishment of some sort of normalcy.

To me revival of Nehruvian vision on Indo-Pak relations still holds good, peace problem and cooperation in South Asian region necessitates that India being a big country in the region should see that peace is prime factor for any economic development and for assertion of independent sovereignty in the unipolar world. India must guard against new U.S. machinations, far mroe dangerous than any schemed earlier. The two countries — India-Pakistan are teetering on the brink of war— it is imperative to refresh our memory, "in December 1962, Nehru told U.S. journalist Sleig Harrison : Confederation remains our ultimate goal. Look at Europe, (now Soviet Union too and East Europe at the common market. There is the urge everywher.e There are no two peoples anywhere nearer than those of India and Pakistan, though if we say it, they are alarmed and think we want to swallow them... In May 1964 he spoke to Sleig Harrison of "more or less parallel political processes" in India and Pakistan giving gradually increasing autonomy to both Indian and Pakistan portions of Kashmir as well as East Bengal (This was before Bangla Desh came into being). The two Kashmiris... and two Bengals would begin to have trade and other interchange as part of a general relaxation in the atmosphere between the two countries... When Sheikh Abdullah mentioned this idea to President Ayub Khan the latter remarked that Nehru was playing with fire in propounding

such ideas. Though he talked about confederation it is clear that what Nehru had in mind was something like the EEC which today is reaching out to a political union.... History may take us by the scruff of our necks to such a situation even if we decide to fight today. A fight may also postpone it. It is not, therefore, better to avoid war, and tread the slow and perhaps tortuous path of peace chalked out by the Simla Accord![57]

Via Media Between Full Integration and Full Autonomy — Article — 370.

S.M. Abdullahas stance in 1953, on Article 370, and centre state relationship, if measured by present standards and criterion, it appears was not secession. In a letter to Shri Nehru dated July 4, 1953, he wrote "We believe that the accession of the state to India on the terms of instrument of Accession would provide necessary opportunities of allaying the fears of various sections of the people of the state. It is true that the choice before the state lay between full integration and full autonomy. We wished to steer a middle course between these two extreme position."[58] In 1953, the local vested interest., Hindu communal forces and steel frams of central government, rather amplifying the issue through debate and dialogue, muffled it. It gave birth to the politics of unreason democratic distemper.

There is an view point, advocated not B.J.P. only but Eminent luminaries one of them being Shri Jag Mohan ex-Governor of State that root cause of crisis in kashmir is the retention of article 370. The real solution to the problem is its aborgation. Insurgency in NEFA, Punjab and Assam erupted without having or enjoying the special status. In case of Kashmir the boot is on the other leg. The application of constitutional orders promulgated by the President from time to time has distorted article 370 aggresively that there remains hardly any distinction between the state of J&K and any other state of the union.

"What are these provisions which they aim at when putting their demand? (for aborgation of article 370). Here we will

discuss these provisions which, in my opinion are not liked by our friends (Mr. Jagmohan included).

(1) To article 3 of the 'COI' following provisio has been added :- Provided further that no bill providing for increasing or diminishing the areas of the state of J&K or altering the name of the boundary of that state shall be introduced in parliament without the consent of the Legislature of that state." (See CG-48 claus : 2) (Hence separate statehood of Jammu, merging with. Himachal Pradesh Kangra) even formation of regional council, declaring a region a union territory come within the purview of this article.. the implications of abrogation with regard to the rights and privileges conferred on the citizens of Kashmir under article 35 A.

"Even if the article under reference or article 370 is aborgeted the state legislature can enact the proviso in the public interest of a section of the people because our fundamental rights are subject to reasonable restrictions. They are not absolute.. Next comes the proviso added to article 3 to prohibit increasing, diminishing and altering the name of State. This is the point which pricks more to find our friends who want to break up state into pieces in the name of religion and change the composition of population....

"It is not article 370 which has created the problem. It is its distortion which has erupted series of problems."[59]

"Article 370 is the umblical cord that links J&K to India and has been dynamically brought into play time and again through constitutional amendments extending various provisions of the Indian constitution to J&K with the consent of the State Assembly."[60]

Kashmir Accession to India/Independence and Right to Secede.

The accession of Kashmir to India was a plus point to the secular character of Indian state. It is not mere a territorial question but linked with wider problem in the sub-continent—secular fabric of the state distinct from theocratic or religious religious state. In Indo-Pak relations this is a most relevant

issue and it is directly interlinked with Kashmir question.

The character and separation of Kashmir state will have serious consequences on the Rest of India. It is linked up with the destiny of 150 million muslims living in India. It will certainly push down the status of muslims in India which will make them resentful. Muslim leaders of eminence in India have disapproved the secessionist moves of Kashmiri Muslims. Syed Shab-Din is one of the prominent among these leaders. Any outburst in India, as in the case of Sikhs, will cause hurt to the sikh psych will cause serious damage to social fabric. These moot points need to be explained to the Kashmiri Muslims by a appropriate media techniques.

We have to identify the factors, which justify a region or nationality to secede from a country to which they presently belong. These factors may be explained as when the people of a particular region, nationality are subjected to economic exploitation; cultural identity is threatened; unjustified curbs placed on a roup of people to follow their religion, violence unleashed on a group of people identified on the basis of their religion; and democratic process is denied to them. Except rigging of elections in 1887, none of the factors exist in the Kashmir situation.

Kashmirs accession to India both constitutionally, legally as well as morally is complete, it did not opt for Pakistan or independence at the time of accession. Constitutionally as well as by will of its people Kashmir became a part of India except a portion POK remained under the illegal occupation of Pakistan.

It is also a histrocial fact that in the U.N.O. India agreed that the question of accession be decided by a plebiscite. This plebiscite was to take place after Pakistan was to fulfil certain conditions, as for example, withdraw all its forces. It never fulfilled these conditions. Moreover in 1971, the two countries signed the Simla Agreement and agreed to resolve all disputes including Kashmir, mutually, peacefully and bilaterally. To harp on the UNO Resolution and to help the militants is gross violation of the Simla agreement and is clearly an interference

in Indias internal affairs.

"Do nationalities/sub national groups – linguistic groups have the right to demand secession any time? Let us assume that they have, that at least the Kashmiris have it. The procedure for demanding and deciding the demand by ascertaining the will of the people have to be first agreed upon. Terrorism cannot be accepted as a legitimate weapon to decide this matter or ascertain the will of the people. Are the Kashmiri Pandits and the Kashmiri sikhs not Kashmiris? To force them to migrate through terror and to compel sizable sections others to ditto what the terrorists say, is to negate the right of self – determination. Terrorism has to be opposed tooth and nail and peace restored... Having exercised the right to remain together at the relevant time, idd a nation/country reserves its right to secede at a latter stage? And if it did, would it be free to secede whenever it would like? Would it not be necessary to take into consideration the big changes that may have taken place in the intervening period, as for example, the integration of economics, the migration of people of other ethnic and linguistic groups etc? What would be the procedure to raise the demand to secede and what would be the procedure to decide it?

Let us now come back to Kashmir and India. Kashmir was never a separate country. It was part of one country called India though artificially divided by the British rulers into the British India and socalled Indian states ruled by princes... Kashmir was never colony of India. In fact the whole of India was a British colony." [61]

In the pages of my article, I have touched the 'issue of Independence of Kashmir.' The militant outfit of Raja Aman Ullah (JKLF) is its strong exponent. Pakistan is deeply worried about this slant of JKLF and slogan of independence. It cold shoulders JKLF and has stopped providing money and arms to this outfit. There is an acute tension between Hizb, (an active advocate of Kashmir's merger within Pakistan) and JKLF. Before examining the issue of independence it is imperative to narrate the vital strategical position of Kashmir – being a

highly sensitive area. It is encircled in the East by Chinese Sinkiang and Tibet; in the west it is contiguous to soverign independent Republics of Tajikistan, Badkshan and Uzbikistan erstwhile constituent Republics of USSR. Kashmir is separated from these republics by a strip of Afghanistan some 40 miles wide. The strategic situation is vital for Russian Republics (Moscow) and Chinese military positions. Great Britain and USA also had major interest in the Kashmir valley. Therefore in the Kashmir foreign involvement has been a vital factor. Now in the changed circumstances, detente between Russia and USA position of Moscow is to be watched, but Chinese and west and USA have not changed their stance — Chinese and Pak close alliance is a reality, as attitude has slightly changed eschewing plebiscite but inclined to independence.

In the past at time of partition Maharaja Hari Singh, toyed with the idea of independence. "In 1953, S.M. Abdullah was captivated by the idea of independence of valley. "Immediately after his meeting with Stevenson, Shelkh Abdullah... on may 18, placed before the working committee the plan of independent Kashmir, which was rejected." [62] Recently Oakleys (USA Ambassador in Pakistan) letter to the Kashmir American Council, was indicator to support the hands of the Kashmir America council, which is lobbying in the US Congress for an independent Kashmir State. The movement for independence is popular in the POK reason being obvious, people there have been subjected to repressive measures by Pakistan government. But its support in the valley is peripheral — confined to a section of intelligentsia constituting 15 percent of the total population. The general populace would have preferred independence, but being conscious that this is impossible. The UNO has limited the choice between India and pakistan. kashmir could not exist independently. The concept of independence is not viable. It will be an hornet's nest, amenable to all kinds of pressures and intrigues from neighbours — India, Pakistan, China and fundamentalist influences, from Afghanistan. After stoppage of arms by Russia to Dr. Nijibis govenrment there is possibility of fundamentalists take over in Afghanistan. These states would not let Kashmir to live in peace. Keeping in view these hard realities, majuority of

Kashmiris in their choice would merge with either of the dominions.

The present fundamentalist wave in kashmir, reared and nurtured by Jammat-E-Islami, having close rappart with fundamentalist forces in Pakistan, will destroy the secular fabric built after hard struggle and enshirned in the State's constitution, in case of independence will establish a theocratic state in Kashmir. Recent instances of the regressive social reforms and religious intolerance to the minority community (forced migration of Kashmir Pandits) justify the above contention.

In 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh, ruler of J&K State entered into stand still agreement with Pakistan. There was an economic blockade of the valley followed by invasion organised by Pakistan. The idea of independence is not plausible, realistic option, keeping in view the defence and poor economic of the stat.e The dream of independence has capivated certian political sections over status of Kashmir, it has never been an independent state, except after the collapse of Moghul rule, Kashmir enjoyed independent status for eleven "months only, when the myth was exploded by Afghan ruler Ahmed Shah Abdali, who conquered the valley and stabilized his rule.

Where then DO WE GO From Here?

A political process is to be initiated, public opinion is to be built and Kashmiri is to be convinced and made to believe that the option of an independent state or one of merging Kashmir with Pakistan does not exist on account of ground reality and their fate cannot be different from the fate of the rest of India. Every formula to be evolved or help rendered to Kashmir should be within constitutional frame work of India and the constituent Assembly of J&K. The recent history of India has been of communalization of politics, the decentralization has been neglected, democracy has been stifled. The Kashmir state has been worst victim of these trends. The autonomy in the state has been suberted, Article 370 diluted through political manipultions. The J&K State was ideal for experimenting the concept of autonomy since it is the only

state in the Indian union that can boast of having a separate constitution on the model of an American state.

The real challenge is how to redefine Kashmir's place in the Indian Union.

About Jamaat's demand of theocratic state in the Kashmir there can be no question of acceptance of it. If you concede Muslim state, (a theocratic state) in Kashmir, and a Christian theocratic state in North east of India? And how can you oppose whole India being converted into Hindu theocratic state?

To agree to theocracy in any part of India will either lead to disintegration or India becoming a Hindu fascist state. There can be no question of acceptance of such a demand. India cannot be part secular and part theocratic.

On the issue of political process and solution to the Kashmir problem the prominent intellectuals, journalists, and publicists have made exercises on the problem in the various directions. The Simla agreement has been analysed in detail. Among these contributions — B.G. Verghesse's Kashmir — way to recovery; Kuldip Nayyars : Kashmir can thaw Indo-Pak ties; Pran Chopras : Kashmir — A bunch of a new ideas; Rajinder Puri : Kashmir : crisis or opportunity are thought provoking, frank and forth-right exposition of the problem.

An indepth study of these solutions as given in these articles by learned authors are in nehruvian vision and traditions — bolder and broader vision to play with. The unwritten clause of Simla Agreement is 'Trieste-type solution of Kashmir — no curbs on mutual traffic, trade etc. plus full autonomy of the two parts of the state.

"J&K needs political direction. The political parties are conspicuous by teir absence — May be one could go further and suggest that both India and Pakistan vest teir respective parts of J&K with greater autonomy as might be negotiated separately by the local people with their respective metropolitan government and then permit the two units to federate around the devolved subjects with regional autonomy with each as

desired, as for Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh on the Indian side and POK, the northern territories and Gilgit within Paksitan. The model could be the confederation India actually created for a while when it admitted Sikkim into the union as an associate state with the passage of the constitution 35th amendment in 1974. B.G. Verghese —

(Indian Express July 12, 1991 Chandigarh)

"One possible solution is the Trieste-Type agreement provided for the partitioning of the Free territory of Trieste between Italy and Yugoslavia along the then existing demarcation between the two with minor changes. The agreement guaranteed free travel between the two sides. Perhaps this types of agreement can make the basis for talks between Indian and Pakistan on Kashmir." Kuldip Nayyar—

(The Kashmir Times June 4, 1991)

"....a majority also advocate a federal structure, granting 'maximum autonomy' to the state... that article 370 should be restored to its original form and the security forces should be immediately withdrawan from the valley"— Civil Liberties and Human Rightest activities — Inder Mohan, Justice V.M. Tarkunde etc. "The Sunday Times of India."

(April 21, 1991)

"It is in this general background that Pakistans objective in Kashmir might best be assessed... That brings us to the regional response. We should offer Pakistan a proposal by which in the first instance, the Kashmir valley have a soft border allowing a free movement across the line of control. With the eventual goal of reuniting the two areas Security would be guaranteed jointly by Indi and Pakistan through a treaty giving equal rights to both countries in kashmir reunited and having a special status." Kashmir: Crisis or Opportunity?

Rajinder Puri — (The Hindustan Times, New Delhi January 31, 1990)

"New Delhi must convince the people of the state... and the new state government will be given more autonomy if it so

desires (Studies show that there are no legal or constitutional constraints upon restoring more autonomy to the state, and if negotiations take place with Pakistan on the future dispensation, they will not be conducted behind the state governments back"....

"The people of Jammu and ladakh have traditionally adopted a negative attitude over the 'special status' in terms of article 370 of the constitution... In other words, devolution from the centre to the state did not flow further down to accommodate the regional and sub-egional aspirations.... The roots of Jammu's sense of deprivation lie more in having denied it an adequote participatory role than in a denial of economic opportunity. Jammu, for instance has witnessed a far qucker pace of industrial development than any other region of the state...."

"Kashmir, — A process for Peace—Pran Chopra (The Hindustan Times, New Delhi August 15, 1991).

"Even if Islamabad terminates its support for the insurgency, a stable peace will not return to kashmir unless India gives greater autonomy to the muslim majority there. At present, the valley is linked with Hindu majority in Ladakh in the unified state of Jammu and Kashmir. While designed to uphold the principle of secularism, this arrangement has served in practice, so far in Hindu Muslim tensions. A possible way out would be for Jammu and Ladakh to become full fledged Indian states while the valley acquires special confederated status within the Indian defence and foreign policy sphere.

In Kashmir and Punjab, as in other third world areas torn by insurgence, military repression will only make matters worse, inviting continued foreign intervention."[63]

Conduct Dialogue with Open Mind

In a given complex and combustible situation, dialogue is life and silence is death. Kashmir problem is multifacet-Indo-Pak conflict or cooperation and Kashmir to be saved on its own terms which is not the same thing as militants terms. The option of independence and one of merging with Pakistan does

not exist keeping in view the ground reality.

To carve out a theocratic Islamic Kashmir state as demanded by Jammat-E-islami within secular Indian fabric is negation of basic secular tenets. To achieve it is sheer impossibility and thoroughly an unworkable proposition. Even today under the shadow of gun, hardline organisation such as the 'Hizbul-Mujahideen' could enjoy modest success in imposing regressive, social reforms, the Islamic way of life and 'Shariat courts.'

To initiate dialogue and start political process, the government should be clear in its mind that there are no short cuts in Kashmir.

"The road to dialogue, therefore is not a simple and straight one. The process probably will have to pass through several twists and turns before the militants agree to come to the conference table and the government finds an entry point for a meaningful dialogue. ntil then, it is important that the centre retains a clear concept of what kind of future Kashmir it wants to have and on what terms"[64] This question is posed by the Kashmiri migrants — Hindu minority, and by a number of Muslim leaders from Kashmir.

About this clear concept of future Kashmir, goernment of India is not able to spill it out yet. It has not undertaken any serious exercise on the issue. The writer got convinced about this positition, in an interview with Home Minister of India as a head of all parties delegation at Jammu on 26th September, 1991. I (the writer) "whatever scope for dialogue exists remains confined to the terms of an enlarged framework of autonomy within the union? The article 370 should be restored in health and spirit. Mr. S.B. Chavan, Home Minister Government of India 'we do not advocate abrogation of the article 370." The above position existed before the eruption of insurgencdy. The other political parties except BJP maintained this stance also. In the prevailing circumstances in Kashmir, it needs revision, and a fresh look not only by Congress (I) but National Front too. The problem of the valleys sense of alienation vis-a-vis the centre is the crux of present insurgency. Here arises the question of more autonomy to the state. There

are no hurdles legal or constitutional, in the way of restoration of more autonomy to the state The centre must be frank in its discussions in evolving a new status, if any within the Indian Union for the state — a satisfactory one.

This process, if carried, phasewise, can synchronise Kashmir problem with the solution of Indo-Pak tension as the former is but a part. The Kashmir problem has defied solution till now. In reality Pakistan feels that we have Kashmir and they are stuck with the Kashmir problem. The Trieste type agreement and softening of the line of control may facilitate synchronised softening of the Indo-Pak border. In this process Kashmir ceases to be irritant, it becomes a cementing force between the India and Pakistan. The process is worth to be initiated and sustained till it reaches its culmination.

Regional Disparities — Myth and Realities

Besides separatism particularly in Kashmir valley, state being multi ethnic and multi-religious is afficted with inter regional strife and tension - Jammu - Ladakhi - Kashmiri. The ethnic problem in the J&K State, in its multilaterla and diverse forms continues to be on the forefront of the political stage. Fundamentalism of vairous hues - Hindu - Buddhist and Muslim, caste and so on are pressed into service for stirring up such divisive questions in the state thus calls for specific solution and remedies arising from its specific character and historical setting. There should be ending of all national and ethnic discrimination, the recognition of full equality of all regions and ethnic groups and for framing up their own personnel, a political state strcutrue which ensures every region to manage their own domestic affairs - formation of Regional Councils within the common democratic state polity."[65]

But for clarification of issues in a rational way and for correct political education of the masses inhabiting the various regions and to reduce the inter regional and inter communal tension mumbo-Ju-mbo regarding discrimination is to be exploded.

The roots of Jammu's discrimination lie more in politics

than in economics. In a post independence set up of state — Kashmiri being the main 'apparat' in the major politic-economic spheres there was no discrimination – Democracy, Agrarian Reforms land to the tiller and free education from primary to university level. Today Jammu after Faridabad has come up on the industrial map – small and medium size industries at Bari Brahmana and Gangyal. The credit facilities from state and semi-official agencies to trade and industrial sector, Jammu hs edge over Kashmir.

The recent statistical figures indicate that in per capita income district Jammu has lead over othe rdistricts of the state.

The new intelligentsia both functional and professional is the result of post independence phase, with a separate university, Medical College and educational institutes. Jammu is the only region having rail link with the rest of the country. Consequently, many Kashmiris too have preferred to set up industries in Jammu rather that in the valley. State government since 1947, appointed two commissions of Inquiry to look into grievances – the Gajendragadkar commission in 1968 and the Sikri commission of 1982, seeking to correct some of the regional imbalances.

it is in the political sphere where Jammu's shoe pinches – denial of an adequote participatory role in the political power. This role can be fructified by conceding the regional autonomy – formation of Regional councils. The state legislature is proper forum under Article 370 to adopt such a legislation and enforce it. The same treatment should be accorded to Ladakh region. Such a dispensation – conceding autonomy should percolate to each of its ethnic and cultural groups. These include the Dogras, Ladakhis, Karglis, Gujjer and Bakerwalas, Pharis, Pandits and Sikhs. Conclusively, the Jammu region is not as happy as Kashmir political leadership claims, nos as down trodden and in need of rescue as Jammuites contend. Time has transformed it from a Kashmir's out-post into one of the most important strategic areas of India today.

Dialogue : Yes but under Right Conditions

Kashmir : Long Haul. Light is not visible at the end of tunnel in kashmir. During V.P. Singh's tenure, the Home Minister talked about political process. Next followed the George Fernandes attempt to keep up the political process. He only talked and listened to the militants. Due to internal dissensions in the V.P. Singh's cabinet, this initiative taken by George Fernandes was doomed to failure. With the unceremonious burial of all party team attached to kashmir Ministry at the centre and Simultaneous recall of Governor Jagmohan, it became quite clear that it had no policy whatsoever in Kashmir.

After V.P. Singh's exit, the next Prime Ministers invitation to the round table to militants to clarify issues fell flat on them. There was no response.

The recent fact-finding mission and invitation to militants for unconditional dialogue did not create any appreciable response. The major terrorist outfits – Hizb-ul-Mujahideen etc. tagged dialogue with pre-conditions – to concede 'Right of Self determination' and make Pakistan third party in the dialogue.

No sensible person can take that there must be no dialogue. At the same time, it should be considered necessary to sound a note of warning that any deviation or negligence in this connection can do a substantial damage, it will stregnthen terrorism and demoralize healthy political forces. Let us illustrate the point from what has happened already. The terrorist outfits have continued to harp on Right of Self Determination of Kashmirs. In Srinagar, Home Minister showed readiness to hold talks unconditionally, and forgot to mention it to be held within the paramters of union constitution. After meeting various delegations at Jammu, he could feel the pinch and said categorcially that the talks can be held within constitution of India.

Let us accept the reality, that there is adhocism but no well defined policy on Kashmir, and we oursleves have made mess of the entire Kashmir question.

12
Let Us Extinguish the Devasting Fire

To initiate political process, the pre-condition is to restore normalcy. People should move away from insurgency and terrorism. The insurgency/terrorism cannot be fought without isolating the insurgents and terrorists from the civil population because they "cannot survive and operate for such a long time without the sympathy and cooperation extended by the urban and rural people...'we should be more concerned with the man behind the weapons than the weapons themselves."[66]

The path to political process and Indo-Pak peace is tortuous one. We have to consider the implications of initiating political process and a dialogue with Pakistan is womething we should not ignore even in the most acrimonious situations.

Armed forces alone are not sufficient to bring back normalcy in the trouble tossed valley. The regrouping of political forces is need of the hour. There are cracks in the militant outfits, and the militants have various trends within it – the JKLF with its stress on the independence of state and the Jammat with the Hizbuls, which stands for merger with Pakistan. The motivated militants possess by rough estimates low percentage of weapons, while the major portion of weapons are held by anti-social elements, who parade themselves as political militants. The extortion, molestation and method of black-mail resorted by anti social elements have alienated them from masses in the valley and signs of revulsions at their activities have come on the surface.

The spirits of motivated militants are not as high as were some time back. They expected intervention of Pak armies

more so on the assumption of power by nawaz Sharif. After elections in Pakistan, the international scene changed considerably and abruptly. American Ambassador in Islamabad, expressed that the US administration no longer supported the demand of plebiscite in Kashmir.

The right approach to the problem is Simla Agreement and Pakistan received further shock, the America envoys disappropval of Pakistan supporting the secessionists. In this backdrop, Kashmiri militants got demoralized and frustrated. It has been corroborated by Home Minister of Government of India ater his recent visit to kashmir in a statement to the Press. The militants feel let down by the Paksitani authorities.

All party approach to the Kashmir problem is belated, as new congress government lacks initiative to convene all party meet on the Kashmir imbroglio. Inside state, an united front of all secular forces is imperative for a white competitive politics is to be kept in abeyance for the sake of national isue, efforts are to be made by persuading tactly back into healthy politics those among the militants who may now be engaged in severe self introspection. After the fulfilment of these urgent takes political process can take off the valley, and the road to normaly will be cleared. An arduous uphill journey indeed, by all calculations.

Initiation of political process presupposes well thought-out solution of the issues which will come on the front. The centre has not defined the issues — the major issue is of state autonomy, restoration of health and spirit of Article 370. Any restarting of old game in Kashmir is fraught with dangers. It will nullify all efforts.

Externally India should do is to take effective action to stop Pakistans physical nd psychological interference. The recent visit of Home Minister to Kashmir, a fact finding mission indicates that centre lacks will and policy on Kashmir. The Times of India, dated 27 September 1991 has correctly characterized in its editorial note, under caption 'wrong signals in Kashmir, "The editorial note has termed the union Home minsiter's two days visit to Kashmir, at best, a futile exercise.'

He did not visualize any change in policy of offer package deal to the people of Kashmir. The militants have rejected the unconditional offer made by Union Minister. The militants are not prepared to enter into dialogue within the frame work of constitution. It appears that Narasimha Rao government is more interested in pushing the country into the lap of IMF and the World Bank and free market than solving the burning problems."

Some vision seems to be necessary especially when the so called sincerity being shown on the ground by Pakistan is mere eyewash. "As usual, Pakistan is engaged in double talk. For, Pak Foreign secretary, Khan has also said that it was necessary to 'break away from the strait jacket of old attitudes and mind sets,' meaning that India has to take corrective positions. Even while Khan has been presenting his Prime Ministers message, Nawaz Sharief was telling the US magazine New Week that there could be a war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir."[67]

Is war inevitable and necessary in the changed circumstances — President Bush's historic announcement to have a massive cut in N. Weapons. Such a decision when implemented will be of international significance. Mr Mikhail Gorbachov was the first to propound the doctrine of 'sufficient Defence.' He proved his bonafides and widhrew Soviet forces from western and eastern Europe.

"Security is indivisible. A state of equal security is the best insurance against war and should replace the present concept of deterrence through marked superiority. This is the rationale of 'sufficient defence.' "Both India and Pakistan are not in a position to affort the level of defence expenditure required to sustain the present level of forces. To take the example of the IAF, the replacement cost of combat is so high that the funds available will not be able to sustain the present strength of 700 odd aircraft. In alloting resources for the 1991-92 defence budget, both countris have been forced to cut down, in real terms, as compared to last year's allocation (India's Defence budget of Rs. 16, 350 crore against revised

estimate of Rs. 15,750 crore last year is an increase of about four per cent against the 12 per cen tof inflation). Besides the resources crunch, Pakistan can no longer hope for US military aid. The time is, therefore opportune to dialogue to discuss reduction of forces... It is clear that an Indo-Pak on military measures towards normalization of relations will be long drawn tardy and even frustrating. Nevertheless the dialogue should take place and the compulsion of economic considerations should motivate both countries to work out on agreement on the reduction of military froces."

The international disarmmament offensive launched by supper powers — USA and USSR, the peace and cooperation in South Asian Region (SAARAC) India holding the vanguard position, it is historically warranted and better to avoid war, and tread the slow and perhaps tortuous path of peace chalked out by the Simla accord. The stark reality of the situation and changed circumstances be eye opener to the was mongers and drummeres in the both countries — Indo-Pak. To counter it, besides official dialogue an non-official exchange of opinion to be promoted - a people to people diplomacy.

Disappearance of Leaders & Political Parties in Kashmir

Lastly, and most importantly, we must evaluate the political parties and the parties which will join the fray when political process restarts in Kashmir. During on going insurgency/ terrorism all the leaders wrote while left Kashmir; are relaxing in London, USA and Delhi except one valiant figure, Maulana Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi, veteran freedom fighter one of the prominent architects of Nationalist movement, ex-M.P. and ex-General Secretary of All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference during its dangerous decades - 1947, 1953. He stood to the ground and sucumbed the Hizbul's bullets' National conference and Congress party disappeared overnight from the scene. About a few hundred of activists being under persecution by militants are migrants in Jammu and Delhi. What happened to these parties is obvious and not a mystery. National conference dominate the scene for about a half century and congress for three decades. Both were ruling

parties and enjoyed pelf and power for years, especially congress. They were sole monopolists of the distribution of favours, loves and fishes arbitarily to their proteges and kith and kin. Both shared common handicap - political education of cadre and masses. Congress during electoral alliances was banking for support on Jamaat cadre and vote banks in village and in exchange were together sharing loot-shoot-contracts, licenses, permits and recruitment to the government services. This alliance came in open since 1972 when legislature was even shared with it.

National conference after accord in 1975, was not the same old organisation of ideologically sound nationalists, but consisted of plebiscite rump — who fought for secession for about more than two decades under the banner of plebiscite Front, led by S.M. Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg. Ideologically far distant from being secular and pro-Indian, their concern was more for grubbing and grabbing money. But some segments in the both organisation were politically well grounded and stood the test of militant on slaught and many were assassinated.

On the eve of insurgency, the extreme political unpreparedness on the part of National conference and Congress (I) provided opportunity and fasciliated the take over by militants of the political scene. The respective bases slipped away from both the organisation — pro-Jamaat from Congress's and pro-Pak a political a morphous mass from National Conference. Pro-Pak sections readily found its ideologue in Jamaat and political leadership in Hizbul— its armed wing and JKLF — mostly having links with National conference activists.

In an atmosphere of much maligned and much abused political past and traditions in the statre, we have to consider and evolve the methodology of restarting political process. It is imperative to take reformative measures regarding the entire gamut of political system prevailing in the valley.

With an administration in disarray and messy politics, escalating insurgency (as per governers admission), it is but natural that youth will have only one option but to take law in his hands. Like Punjab the situation in Kashmir is not different

the only exception being the left in Punjab who faced the insurgency boldly and valiantly.

How does the political process restart in kashmir? Which parties join the fray? Which issues come to the fore front. To start the political process we have to find the will to reform the political process. Indeed a formidable challenge for all democratic and secular parties in the country. It is worth while to organise a state wide dialogue. It is imperative to meet this challenge. All patriotic, secular, democratic and progressive forces have to unite and build a strength of the people to overcome this threat from 'Black Reaction' and shadow of the gun. the central government should provide adequote protection to the hundred of activists, being political migrants in various parts of the country and arrange their returns to the valley. The leaders Dr. Farooq Abdullah, Syed Mir Qasim, Mufti Mohd. Sayeed and G.M. Shah assume the role of pioneers and set a precedent for rank and file. Embarking on this project will have a psychological impact on secular forces in the state and will inspire them from primary action.

Here is the Rose, here dance!

(Ae-Sops Fables)

(Show right here by action what you can do)

Peer Giyas-ud-Din)

1-10-1991

195-MLA Hostel Jammu.

Epilogue
The Historical destiny of the Kashmiri Insurgency

BEING a serious national issue, Kashmir is on the top of the political agenda. In fact it has been so since the eruption of militancy. It has not ceased to be an international issue too. The U.S. continues to pursue its vile game with greater vigour. In his latest statement on Kashmir in the Rajya Sabha on 14th December, 1995 the Home Minister has stated that the U.S. wants a foothold in Kashmir because of its being a strategic region. The U.S. reaction to this statement is wild and not diplomatic as is the norm. One can imagine why?

National Conference, being the major political party in the State, its stand on the question of autonomy and elections is interlinked, interdependent and indivisible. On the issue of autonomy for the State, almost all national political parties barring the BJP have supported the demand for Political Package, whose main content should be the quantum of autonomy for the State. The Home Ministry takes the line that the question should be decided by the J&K Assembly, not before, but after the elections. This is unacceptable to the National Conference, as well as to the left and secular democratic parties.

The recent unconditional offer by the Home Ministry for talks with the Militants is a well considered step in the direction of initiating a much awaited dialogue for the solution of the complex problem.

Renegades of former Militant outfits constituting as a

vanguard met the Home Minister, talked over the issue, expressed their apathy to the gun culture, opined against elections. A Committee of the Home Ministry was formed to continue such dialogues with the Militants.

The initiative shown by the former leaders of the Militant outfits is quite appreciable. It may be termed as a pioneering act on their part. Such an act may not be construed as a turning point in the ongoing Militancy. The initiative shown by the "renegrades" is comparable to shoots of grass in the early spring, prone to be frost bitten but destined to sprout again from the roots with the approaching spring.

It took a good bit of effort and time for the Home Ministry to convene such a meeting with Militants. The exercise undertaken may be described like using a giant nut-cracker to crush a very tiny object which might not even be a nut.

Balance sheet of terror :

A decade of terror has turned Kashmir into a Valley of despair. Tourist industry has come to a stand-still. The tourist resorts famous for their beauty in the World are desolate and barren. Ruthless felling of trees by the militants has denuded the thick forests, the pride of the Valley. The educational structure is in comaplete disarray. Corruption is rampant. Administrative structure is in shambles. Bureaucracy is in hand and glove with the militant outfits.

In the State of J&K, however, blood is shed daily. And no end to this blood shed is in sight. There is a monster which has been destroying numbers of people, among them absolutely innocent men and women, children and old folk. This monster is terrorism.

Murder and attempted murder, bomb explosions and street violence have become a daily occurrance occurrence in several parts of the State, so much so that they no longer evoke surprise. The culprits are mostly immature and desperate youths. We are not talking of crimes committed by the under-world (though such crimes too have been steadily increasing)

but acts of violence perpetrated in the name of Islam, Jehad (armed crusade) for ideological (two nation theory) or at any rate political motives. Hundreds of militants have been killed, thousands have been imprisoned, but police methods and legal measures have so far failed to eradicate the evil.

Since 1989, the seven years of terror were marked by a high degree of damage done to the people of J&K State. In the Valley hundreds of educational Institutions were burned down, even hospitals were not spared, hundreds of trucks, cars etc., were destroyed. Serious damage was done to bridges, industrial and agricultural enterprises, irrigation facilities etc.

In the year 1990, about 3, 50,000, majority being Kashmiri pandits had to flee the Kashmir Valley and settle in other parts of the Country as migrants. Hundreds of Nationalists, Secularists, Democrats, Progressive were ruthlessly assassinated. Assassination of Social, Religious and Political leaders, spying, subversion, ifiltration of political parties and organisation to undermine them from inside, blackmail, panic-margering-all the I.S.I methods found a way in one form or another in the Jammait's controlled Militant Outfit's manual. Everybody, except the Terrorists themselves, agrees atleast in their public utterances that an act of terrorism constitutes a crime. But some people distort this definition. They distort it by describing as "terrorism" the struggle being waged by "Mujahids" – (fighters) in various parts of the State for the life and "Azadi" of peoples.

Anatomy of Kashmiri insurgency :

(i) The Soil and Roots :

The story of terror in Kashmir begins with Mr. Bari's (Ameer Jamat-E-Islami POK) visit to Kashmir in 1980. He met Maulana Sadudin (Ameer Jamat Kashmir) in a Village adjacent to Srinagar. In 1981 on his return from Haj-Pilgrimage a high level meeting was arranged in Islamabad. The meeting was attended by two Jammat Chiefs - Mr. Bari and Maulana Sad-ud-Din. The meeting worked out the details of cooperation between the two organisations. General Zia, the then President of Pakistan, Mr M.Y. Chauhan, Secretary Kashmir Affairs

also participated in the meeting. The meeting lasted 3 hours. The participants in the meeting came to the conclusion that an armed crusade (Jehad) should be launched by Kashmiris themselves. As a result of these parleys in Islamabadh, Maulana Saad-ud-Din again visited Pakistan, with a complete plan of "freedom movement." General Zia approved this plan. Jammait has been the author and executor of the present ongoing insurgency in the State.

The heyday of Militancy in the Strongholds of the State in 1990 not only caught administration, political parties by surprise, which is quite natural, it also upset their firmly established bureaucratic and political structures. There is no doubt that developments in Kashmir are of highly complicated nature. Quite a few blunders had been made by successive regimes after achieving freedom in the State in the conduct of State apparatus which were used against Kashmiri Leadership by its internal and external enemies. The root of the current acute and lengthy political struggle in Kashmir lies neither in the heavy burden of blunders inherited from the successive Governments since 1947, nor in the errors made in the early phases of democratic regime by the parties and Government leaderships of the State. The primary and fundamental cause is stubborn will of the internal (both in Kashmir and Jammu) and external reactionary forces, Pakistani communal, feudal and military establishment most of all, to prevent the existence of secular and progressive Muslim majority State within India in its close proximity.

The progressive changes in J&K State have been effected by the will and in the interest of people. It was headed by the National Conference, the first party in the history of J&K State which conducted a powerful movement for abolition of the princely order. Sheikh Abdullah, one of the tallest leaders of the National Conference was not fighting the battle of democracy in his own State, he was also the elected President of the All India State Peoples Conference, which was a ally of the Indian National Congress conducting the battle against the most loyal stooges of the British Colomalists, that is the princes. The national Conference evolved a most radical programme; "Naya

Kashmir," embodying three charters- Peasant, Worker and Womens Charter. It has also promised free education upto the University level for residents of the State. But for the Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference which he was heading, the historic development of Kashmir joining India would have not taken place.

(ii) Social Roots of Millitancy :

The process of modernization in the sphere of land-relations, education and socio-culture in Kashmir provoked the priest-hood (Mullas). This social strata (Mulla)s in the difficult years of struggle against autocracy and British Colonialists, many among the Mullas had joined the feudal lords and sided autocracy. Mullas opposed Nationalist forces and democratization of the Society. In the State where Islam is the predominant social consciousness, muslim priets have a tremendous influence on the people and play a major part in the Countrys political life. Their influence is strongest in the countryside, where before independence the local Mullaha was the elder, teacher, Judge and ideologue in one person. Priests of a lower order, themselves often poor were in the thick of public life supporting the freedom struggle and emerging democratic order.

However, a part of the lower and middle, to say nothing of the higher, echelons of priesthood had joined the counter democratic reactionary fundamentalist organisation immediately after 1953 and assumed the role of standard bearers of rigid Islamic Society and Pakistan. Naturally they were the first to be approached by the I.S.I., moreover on many of them the I.S.I. had sizeable files. Recent document shows that ISI had already established contact with Jamiati Islami through its Paksitani counterpart, had its consent to supply arms, finances and propaganda materials. Jamaiti Islami was at the time hammering out the Islamic society of Kashmir. An investigation of the Jammait Islami activities reveals that the I.S.I relies mostly on reactionary, chauvnistic and religious communal organisations. On the eve of 1987 elections such a broad front was formed on the band wagan of Muslim United Front.

In order to establish hegomany over State run educational Institutions selected teachers who stood the field test of I.S.I were implanted in schools, colleges and Universities to gain control over youth. I.S.I. took a due note of the weight and importance of the youth in Kashmir. Fundamentalist, Ideologues and theoreticians sprang up in the Medical Colleges, Engineering Colleges, Colleges and Universities. I.S.I had established contact in these spots and groomed and reared such stuff with utmost secrecy and care.

Have beens and fuelling of terror :

In the backdrop of "Jain Diaries" (Hawala Case), hidden behind this insurgency and terrorism is drug trafficking-smuggling of narcotic drugs which are bound for Western countries generally through Britain. India lies in the middle of Golden Crescent (Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan). The funds from these smuggling operations are being used to prop up militant groups in Kashmir. Though there are about 150 such groups, the main among these are just a few. The one time front runner JKLF has given place to the Hizbul-Mujahideen (H.M.) The H.M. is an armed wing of Jammat-i-Islami which has the fullest backing of Inter Service Intelligence. However, the most brutal crimes are committed by another breakaway group called the Jammait-Ul-Mujahideens.

In 1991, the Delhi Police with the arrest of Jawahar Lal Nehru University Research scholar, stumbled upon another racket running into several hundred crores. The research scholar Mr. Gouri who had just returned from Pakistan, was picked up from his house in a Western U.P. Village. He was acting as a conduit for Kashmir terrorists, whose agent in Delhi, Ashfaq Hussain Lone, was in constant touch with him. In fact Ghouri, gave amount of money to Lone, who sent many instalments of cash to terrorists. Three Hawala dealers were arrested in the follow-up action, made stocking revealations. These revealations gave valuable clues to the Intelligence agencies which led them to the now infamous Jain Diaries. These diaries disclosed that an advocate Mufti Mehraj-ud-Din and a teacher, G.M. Sheikh were channelling foreign

funds through the Jain family. The list of "Have Been's involves most of the Hurriyat Leaders being receipient of funds as being alleged. The list of have been starts with Shri Syed Ali Shah Geelani the prominent leader of reactionary Jammait-I-Islami and main proponent of "Islamic Society." Maulvi Omar Farooq-Chairman of Hurriyat Conference, Mr A.G. Lone and Mr. M.Y. Malik figure in the list and have received the notices. The concerned authorities have asked them to give details of foreign contributions received by them in cash or kind during the last six years. Hurriyat Leaders who pose as "defenders of faith," have been several times charged with misappropriation of funds created by a number of International and private Organisations.

In the beginning of Militancy, simple Kashmiri folk were moved by the self-denial of Militant leaders and terrorists in the name of 'higher truth," 'Islamic Society," "Islamic brotherhood" and great goals which proved to be myths even if they sincerely believe in it. Actually. Militants and their leaders are merely choosing the most psychologically easy way of life for themselves. Their self sacrifice in the name of cause is also means of relieving themselves of a mundane life which demands constant and often very difficult and wenching decisions and reactions. It is also characteristic of them, that while rejecting unislamic, Western lifestyle, militant leaders as a rule, are not wont to give up its creature comforts. The majority do not practice moderation if this is not dictated by a desire to flaunt their supposed suffering. Many prefer to hide in spacious Banglows, Villas, Flates and often reject safer, but less comfortable residential places. Their eyes light up at the sight of expensive cars, which contrary to the demands of conspiracy, they often purchase for themselves. They like resorts, good food (Wazwan). Hidden behind the mask of a haughty and nihilistic attitude towards modern scientific progress and culture is the common complex common to so many religious fanatic fundamentalists, "of poor achievers in school, who always felt humiliated and also the jealous hatred by the lumpens (Lumpen derived from German words meaning rags) who deliberately played the role of simple folk, towards those

who were more cultured and educated than they." This is a familiar trait. Some of these lumpen intrigurs burned books. They destroyed Universities and shot dead Vice-Chancellor and teachers. It is interesting to note that one of their slogan was: "Down with Exams." These dropouts, who despised modern culture and education and had supplanted labour and studies by Vandalism, which they termed "Jehad" and "Islamization," still wished to possess medical and engineering seats, lucrative posts in Civil Service that would open their way to Western Culture and lifestyle. The wide spread view of "Mujahideen" "men of steel," fanatic and ascetic fighters for an idea is a myth and obviously groundless.

Soldiers of fortune :

Hiring a mercenary (guest militant), Friedrick the King of Prussia used to say, "I gain four times:" first my army is one soldier stronger, second my enemy loses a potential soldier, third, one prussian stays with his family and fourth, when the soldier of fortune is killed, he is mourned in some foreign land while it matters no one Prussia." The same kind of logic drove the I.S.I to recruit mercenaries among foreigners mostly Afghans emigrants in Pakistan and POK: first, because terror in Kashmir can be staged with others hands; second, the bulk of ISI agents remains on the territory of Pakistan, which the Pakistan Government and ISI claim, proves that the Pakistan is not implicated in the proxy war against India, and third, when Afghan mercenaries are killed they are mourned by their near and dear in Afghanistan, while their deaths matter to no one in Pakistan or Kashmir.

The first ISI training camps were set up in 1981, in West Punjab (Pakistan) and POK). By the end of 1990 thousands ISI trained and equipped militants had been in operation in the Kashmir Valley and other parts of State-Doda, Poonch, Rajouri. The ISI lured Kashmiri Militants into bands with lies lending them to believe that they were fighting for their land and religion; while the ISI's true goal was to impede the foundations of State's (J&K) economy, to destroy the already existing weak economic infrastructure, and to prevent millions of State

People's to realize the tremendous perspectives for peaceful creative labour that the years of planned development Government had opened for them.

In the year 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, Millitants suffered heavy losses in open fights with Security Forces and Army. The Security Forces were much more conversant with local topography by now and were gaining strength and experience, and this impelled the ISI to change its tactics. The emphasis shifted to conducting actions by small groups, predcominantly from ambush and night time raids. In this new situation, the Militants hit at all and any moving objects in their way. It explains why these years witnessed a sharp increase in the killing of women, old people, and children.

A veritable "mine war" was launched against Kashmir. Among them were Shelless mines undectable by ordinary mine detectors used by the Indian army. As these mines were installed on roads, pathways, and mountain paths, their victims were mostly civilians, bus drivers and passengers-school children going to schools.

During numerous raids by security forces on the hideouts of militants it came to the notice of army experts the intentions of ISI in the Valley were highly dangerous. The intentions of ISI were aimed at subversion of political poarties, Government and Social institutions of the State of J&K.

Join terrorists and get rich :

Militancy in the Valley since its eruption has been an vital factor for the mobilization of "Lumpen Proletariate," (derived from the German, Lum-pen" meaning" rags." It is not surprising that 'lumpens attract such great attention today. To a large extent this is due to the fact that in recent years they have grown sharply in number and social significance in developing economy of the State. The last few decades, however, have seen this reprehensible, obnoxious force which has been in the backyards of Kashmiri Society dominating towns and country side. This emerging class has pecularity of its own in the socio-political sphere of the State and is off-shoot of the uique

socio-economic process of "lumpen development. Such a development negates normal production and established norms of productive process.

Kashmir has a long history of the growth and socio-political role of the lumpens as a class. In the ancient period and medieval period the lumpens were nicknamed as "Damaras and "Tantrays." These two classes constituting Lumpens would organise into armed bands, resort to loot, arson, killings, rapeand even play a role in making and unmaking kingdoms.

In the modern period since independence they established their social bases in South Kashmir-Bijbhera, Kulgam, Pulwama; in the north their bases were in Kupwara, Uri, Handwara. Their economic basis was deforestation of forests, timber smuggling and narco trafficking (Charas smuggling. Since 1972, the lumpens had a great clout in political power and bureaucracy. Most of the legislators since 1972 were in hand and glove with this class-lumpens. It is ironical that Jammait-Islami established their bases in these areas and recruited them in their organisations.

The socio-economic processes in post independence phase in the State of J&K, which on the whole accelerated the break-up of the most obsolete structural "chunks," have taken away from their normal occupations. This causes growing unemployment, increased migration to towns, abnormal urbanization and greater poverty. Rural areas are characterized by the conservative and stagnant semi-employment of large strata of the poor peasantry. The present countryside in the Kashmir has become a huge cesspool of all kinds of "semi-declasse" elements. Lumpens have developed their own ideology, and it is their representatives emerge as the founders and backbones of a number of highly powerful organisations, some of which, in structure and function, are remeniscent of secret societies with their own code of conduct and "honour." These are largely thieves or bandit organisations which often take part (albeit invisbly) in political life.

The 'lumpen proletarian is man at the "bottom," standing at the lowest step of the Social Ladder and who, through his

own fault, is met with general distrust and even contempt. He belongs to no class, recognises no morality, does not participate in any productive work and violates the law wherever he can. He is against one and all and stands for himself alone. Although in conflict with society, he shuns revolutionary struggle to transform society and he scorns discipline, he is more interested in crime than in politics. Hating the 'capitalists, he hankers after the property of individual traders and rich people. He prefers leading a parasitic existence to doing any useful work. Marx called them the "offal," the scum of the classes. Marx wrote of its composition : Alongside decayed "roues" with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of capitalists, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged Jail birds, escaped galley slaves, rougues, mountebanks, "Lazaani, lumpen proletarians incited by he priests against liberals; the case being similar to Kashmir, Mulla's incited armed lumpens against liberal sections), pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers..., brothel keepers, porters, literati-lower middle class intelligentsia, organ grinders (mechanics) rag pickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither." ('Karl Marx: The Eighteenth Burmaire of Lious Binaparte collected works Vol. 2).

On the eve of the Militancy in Kashmir, such was the shape of lumpen society in the Kashmir Valley, "it was a society of theft, disorder, prostitution. A chunk-enemy of the people and labouring masses. Noted for their unscrupulous and mercenary nature, Mullas of all hues, Jamait-islami and its armed wing mobilized them on mass scale against right thinking people, Democrats, nationalists, Secularists and even against individual traders, capitalists for loot and plunder.

It should be born in mind that brutality has always been inherent in these elements. The leaders and political inspirers during ongoing militancy in the State have invariably taught the lumpens to despise all morality and decency. A large number of lumpens joined the armed insurgent groups. They were solemnly given assurances of new rank of "gentry" which most of the leaders of armed outfits planned. They were

promised by ISI agents that in case of victory they would soon be made managers and the wealthy proprietors of the lands and property leftover by fleeing migrants and secularists. The lumpens were not only paid a fixed sum, but were given uniforms, housed in comfortable hideouts and provided with pocket money. On the basis of this deal the lumpen-proletarians were drilled in the techniques of political provocation and they in turn taught the insurgent, militant organisations all kinds of brutality.

During the ongoing insurgency, Lumpen's flocked to armed outfits and inscribedon their banner-Join Terrorists and get Rich." These trigger happy ultras Loot Banks, migrants houses, individual traders and hold officials to ransom. They are linked to smugglers, racketers. Recruitment in the ranks of militants continues because of the feeling among Lumpens that at worst they would have to spent a few months in jails. Meanwhile they would be able to amass a good deal of wealth and get rich through extortion and blackmail. Lumpen insurgents amassing good bit of wealth throgh plunder and extortion, abjure gun, surrender to security forces, choose normal life; operate business transactions on a big scale. After an occupation of loot, plunder and assassination they try to pose as "gentry."

Lumpen proletarians cannot be leaders of political parties or part of political process. The people, led by Political parties having beliefin democratic process and working to keep intact the healthy mass base remains the main social force in the society. The people and lumpen proletariate have no common goals. The present Kashmir situation bears testimony to this historical fact.

In Kashmiri Society, howeve,r the lumpen-proletariate has not come to the end of its life road. Those insurgent sections and secessionist leaders who seek to exploit it for their sinister arms will go to every length to make it even more unruly and ferocious, and drive it to the utmost outrageous terrorist ventures. But whatever may happen, the life span alloted to the lumpens in history is not limitless.

The contaminated bureaucracy :

In a recent press conference in Srinagar, Mr. Ashok Kumar, Chief Secretary of J&K State, in a reply to a question by a Correspondent, did not rule out the collusion of bureaucracy with the militants. J&K bureaucracy is an amalgam of three constituents : Kashmiri bureaucrats-mostly muslims, Jammuites mostly hindus and outsiders, IAS. The composition is multi religious and multi-cultural. Kashmir bureaucracy has a chequered history and a tainted past. Why the Civil Service has; by and large, lost its sheen and sensitivity - is a long story. It began with the autocratic Dogra rule. They required some Kashmiris, Dogras to rule the State, and that they found they could depend on them. The ruling class of bureaucrats had feudal social origin and cultural pattern. The people, they selected directly or through competitive examinations helped the ruler's in their nefarious activities. The nationalist movement was not so much suppressed by Dogra rulers as by the Civil service, who manned Police, Intelligence, the Secretariat and some top positions. The Kashmir Civil Service was a tool of tyranny before independence. The same was the case in British India. The India should have demobilized the service after winning freedom. But the post independence rulers decided otherwise. Toadies of yesterday became nationalists. Many among them even began to believe that they had contributed to the ousting of subjegation. But there was no doubt to their loyalty first to the Dogra monarchy and then to that of National Conference and after 1965, to Congress. It showed how easily they changed with the change in rulers. A highly opportunistic species in the society, swearing in the name of nationalism and Constitution.

After the independence, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah was the Prime Minister of the State, who tested their commitment to the traditions and rules of service. They were found wanting when Bakshi Gh. Mohammed came into power in 1953, and the economy philosophy he was doing at that time to win a political battle, they supported him. Even top most Civil Servants at that time did not talk of the commitment to the Constitution or the rule of law but to the progress and

development whatever it meant. During Gh. Mohammed Sadiq's time it became a fashion to be progressive. After the reinstallation of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, the muslim bureaucrats were punctual in demonstration of offering prayers and attending mosques regularly. During Governance of Mr. Jag – Mohan saw how palpable was the Civil Services. Highhanded and arbitrary actions were carried out with impunity. The ethical considerations inherent in public behaviour have generally become dimn since the rule of Governor's and the eruption of Militancy in the State. There are instances, when the behaviour of bureaucrats has been beyond the mental grasp of the man of public functionaries. Desire for self preservation, as admitted by many Civil Servants at various levels, became the sole motivation for their official actions and behaviour. The battle for survival is the main consideration and motto of Civil Service, through this prism they approach to the problem that came before many of them. Infact, State Bureaucracy has been an opportunistic lot, currying favour from whicever quarter or party came to power. Since the gun culture surfaced in the State, the bureaucracy has been in hand and glow with the Militants sharing the spoils of power. The Chamelon like Civil Service, having inter-regional and multi-religious complexion is following its own ethos-regional and communal. In the Valley it is Pro-Pak in sentiment and in Jammu and Leh tilting towards regionalism and communalism. There is no inkling to do a correct thing. Since Militancy, the dividing line between moral and immoral has ceased to exist.

The Screening of the Government Servants in the State should be taken on top priority to weed out the Hindu and Muslim Fundamentalists.

The conduct rules say that Civil Servants cannot participate in Political Activities, nor can they behave in a manner which would reflect a bias for a particular party, caste or creed. All those employees, whether Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, who are known for the communal support should be dismissed after Departmental enqiury. There is also a case for banning the entry of such people into the service.

The role of IAS in the State since its induction after integration of services has not been above board. Mostly they have been imbibing communal considerations and having anti Kashmiri bias. At times they run amuck. They look at J.K. State as a Muslim Majority State, unlike other States of India. Their attitude and behaviour has been by and large reprehensible, prejudicial and communal. There have been exceptions but a few and far between. It is better that till integration of services is scrapped, the outside IAS Officers should not stay for a long in the State.

The present crisis in the State is a serious challenge to the Bureaucracy's role and its functioning. But if the Bureaucracy has to play a role then it must show itself to be qualitatively different from the Politicians when it comes to public interest and collective good. Historically the cultivated indifference to the common man, that has been the bureaucrats undoing. Bureaucrats have to shed their inborn anti-peoples attitude. The bureaucracy has to evolve its own line of action, explore the extent of its own constitutional leeway in order to ensure and safeguard the best interests of State not to be mortgaged by the short-sighted and irresponsible politicians. In order to defend the constitutional properiety, without in any way transgressing the Constitutional obligations or administrative norms. Otherwise the Lumpens, religious and economic will render them irrelevant. They are not only servants of the Government of the day, but first and foremost servants of the people of State.

An Auxillary Weapon; Psychological warfare :

In the Journalistic sector during the ongoing insurgency the old grandiose slogan sof "freedom of the Press," now known as the 'freedom of information' or free exchange of ideas, were reduced to "freedom to buy up newspapers, "to buy writers to bribe, buy and fake public opinion for the benefit of insurgency. There are no two opinions that under the current conditions of Indo-Pak tension and antagonistic approaches to the solution of Kashmir Problem the battle of ideas is an objective phenomenon. This, however, can in no way justify the organisation and conduct of veritable psychological warfare

against people in the J&K State and Indian republic. The Pakistan views psychological warfare as a weapon of aggression and its central objectives as: (1) demoralization of the enemy; (2) undermining of the enemy's ideology and belief in its own strength; (3) imposing on enemy alien ideas and concepts. Psychological warfare as a system of subversive actions organised and subsidized through official and private channels takes on various forms ranging from circulating leaflets, publications, fabricated documents and photos, radio and television, broadcasts to organise 'conferences,' 'symposia' and 'forums (designed to provoke 'resentment.' Primarily, Pakistan propaganda, in Kashmir has dealt in these all forms of "psychological warfare.' 'procrusts'- a legendry robber of ancient Greece, forced his victims to fit a certain bed by stretching or lopping off their legs. The propoganda machine of Pakistan shows 'proerustean' reasoning when it trries to force Kashmir to change its nationalist, progressive past traditions, policies pursued for the welfare of the people since freedom struggle and after to fit Pakistan standards- 'fundamentalist Islam not real Islam, theocratic State instead of Secular and unsound logic of two nation theory and partition.

At the close of 1989, books authored by foreign Journalists and in Kashmir by their props were published on Kashmir. The author's undertook to prove that, apart from 'shooting war' that the Pakistani ISI with the use of modern weapons and clandestine operations, it has launched a war of psychological aggression, in which any means are allowed. Having at its disposal a network of radio stations on Pak territory and POK, the Pak propaganda machine has made it its primary target to discredit the progressive political, socio-economic changes achieved by the successive Governments in Kashmir State.

At the height of Militancy, the Pakistan has fundamentally reorganised the mass media involved in that propaganda operation. It employs an array of methods and instruments and concentrates on definite subject tied up with current times. For instance Nuclear threats from India, war mongering. While previously the ISI saw the entire Indian people as the target of

its psychological activity, today it attempts to influence definite social, tribal, religious or ethnic groups, to put majority of people against the religious minority, to put one group on the other, to fan distruct, enmity and conflict between ethnic, religious and minorities even inter-regional conflicts within State. The ISI propaganda has shifted emphasize on trying up its psychological actions on specific dates, such as the 'Kashmir's accession to Indian Union, 15th August, landing of Indian army in Kashmir on the eve of Raiders attack. Veritable lie factories have been set up in Pakistan. Radio is the most effective means of propaganda.

During the ongoing insurgency, it has been noticed that Militants often carry out their activities in the form of "Dramatized Violence." Microscopic groups and grouplets as movements and armies bearing significant and high flown Arabacized names. Telephone calls and letters to newspapers which justify the act, contain demogogy and threat. "Terrorism" is a theatre" a formula which has gained much popularity in Western literature. In the theatre the stage is covered with Blood, and the main character is death. Terrorists want a lot of people watching and lot of people listening. The success of terrorist operation depends almost entirely on the amount of publicity it receives. "Weapons destructive in propartion to their noise." (Walter Lacquer, "Guerilla"). For the press, the terrorism is source of enrichment. It does not only guarantee an influx of cash from subscribers and retail sales, but also much more importantly, attracting commercial advertisement. The journalistic industry based on competition and profit, serving, inturn to promote them, for the purpose of sensationalism, on various crimes, of establishing a mass pseudoartistic industry of horror," and of promoting violence and cult of superman.

Thus the 'media' become a supplementary, or an auxiliary, weapon of terrorists themselves. If one stops publicising terrorism, that may become the main pre-requisite for its complete elimination.

The best appraoch is instead of cutting out publicity, it

involves covering terrorism in a reasonable manner, proportionate to the actual situation and aimed at genuine struggle against militancy.

Administrative bans of various kinds will illustrate the success gained by Militants, who aim at forcing society to adopt the path of eliminating democratic freedoms, they will be used as just another argument in attacks on the State.

The problem of publicity by the mass media, is a difficult one. It is not impossible too, as the media in turn, have to consider public opinion, whose anger on with the information policy towards Militancy pursued with the press, is rising systematically and sharply.

Reflections on the Kashmiri Militancy

(7 years) - The Non Enigmatic Sphinx

The Kashmiri Militancy is increasingly becoming less political, ideological and more blind and absurd. Let us take a closer look at the concepts which appear through the fog of the phaseology of misinterpreted and distorted version of ("Jehad" - 'Islamic Society'); as propounded by the leaders of Militants repetivitly, if we now attempt to visualize their true meaning, we shall immediately find oursleves in a dead end, for there is nothing behind this constant repetition of words on an exalted note. Let us take the Militants concept of 'Azadi,' Jehad and Islamic Society. What can they mean by such exalted concepts - "Nizam Mustafa," if it is to be achieved, according to their plans, through arson, robbery, shooting people in the leg and murder. Why should State collapse as a result of these actions? And what then will bright future be like if they find it possible to destroy half of Kashmiri people in the name of this future and to deprive the other half of its humaneness? And how dialetical destruction turn into creation?

A keen student of Terrorist history and insurgencies considers Terrorism not something predetermined whether Socially or historically, but as a superficial phenomenon, either instigated from without or appearing under the influence of an ideology, which has become a powerful for some strange

reason.

The situation that prevails in Kashmir today-gang wars among Militants, renegades and surrenderson large scale signify that Militancy is on the decline. A Militant is not well organised, and cannot afford to live icognitive with the population or population is not so supporting as to give him a very advantageous force multiplier. Jim Corbert's "The Man Eater of Rudrapryas' Enumarating the exploits of Sir Robert Thompson in Malaya, suppressing the communist insurgents draws conclusion that one tackling such a situation should gain appreciation of how a small number of insurgents can tie down troops in numbers so greatly out of proparation to their strength.

Militarily at this stage the enemy has three options. The first is to seek a military victory by the classical solution, laid down by Mao-Tse-Tung, of a changing guerilla warfare to a war of movement. Unfortunately, this option does not exist for Kashmiri Militant. To do so without concomitant conventional attack by Pakistan would be to invite swift and well deserved annihilation. The second and third options are closely interlinked and are intended to break the will of the Government and force it to negotiate a political settlement. Keeping up the terrorist pressure and fomenting international opinion are integral elements of this. The Kashmiri insurgency thrives because of the convergence of three factors-Pakistan, Islamic Fundamentalism and Centres inability to evolve a reasonable formula to meet the aspirations (Autonomy) of people accompanied by a democratic process to provide a truly good Government. Any Government combating an insurgency has four options. The first option, and are used often in kashmir is area clearance, militarily relatively easy. Area clearance involves the extermination or capture of the active militants and brutal suppression of the Civilian population living there. This does not respect any human rights and is not in consonance with civilized norms. The second option is to fight the militants by mounting operations against them while ignoring or isolating civilians. In Malaya, Sir Temple, while fighting insurgents adopted and evolved the idea of strategic hamlets, its aim was

to isolate the Chinese guerillas from the Malaya population This is possible, now at this stage of Militancy in Kashmir.

Military Defeat, Political Process :

Although, struggle against militancy is not easy, and one should not sit on laurels, be Complacent, to fight it is easy if certain conditions are fulfilled. What is needed is both a consistent and purposeful Government policy combined with the efforts of the public and political organisations and the support of the masses.

The struggle against terrorism must be conducted on a broader front and with a greater foresight. Militancy must be destroyed in the ideological and political sense, i.e., all illusions concerning it must be dispelled, it must be deprived of the support of that milieu which is still sympathetic to it. In this way the sources which sustain it will not replenish it with a new cadres. It is necessary to block those forces which provide oxygen to it. This means to analyse the impact of mass media which provide Militancy with free and widespread advertising.

The study of seven year's of Kashmiri insurgency shows that these problems can be solved if three basic conditions are followed.

First of all Government must take a consistent and irreconciable position towards militancy, decisively employing all reasonable means at their disposal. The countries where insurgency remained resistant and stayed long it was Governments weakness than of the strength of militants. To a great extent this conclusion is just one, political Scientists have often noted sabotage, and the tolerance of terrorism on the part of given links in the State apparatus and of the forces of repression in the Militancy afflicted State which are wrought with corruption and directly connected with Militants. Many Western political Scientists believe that the main problem against insurgency is to be found not in the complexity of suppressing it by armed force, but in the price to be paid. A good deal of arguments are on between those who support

'flexible pragmatism" and those who oppose any kind of compromise, between those in favour of active "counter terrorism," and preventive measures.

Undoubtedly, those who protest against anti-democratic measures, and at the same time, take an uncompromising stand against insurgents (for this is the only, yet adequate way of demonstrating to them the ineffective mess of their tactics) are in the right in this debate. Militancy is the indirect strategy that wins or loses only in terms how you respond to it. If people as a whole as represented by various strata, the mass media and Government institutions resist militants black-mail and wages a persistent struggle against militancy through the forces of law and order, it will not only narrow militants practical potential, but will also deprive its very activity of any meaning at all.

It implies that victoyr over militancy is possible within the framework of democratic regimes, on the basis of existing legislation, without demanding that these regimes adopt harsh measures and reject their democratic principles. Besides, it is imperative to take an uncompromising attitude towards militancy and against any and all of their inspirers and supporters.

The main condition of successful struggle against militancy is the active participation of the masses. The military defeat of the militancy can be brought by Government bodies. But they need to have the support of the masses and mass organisations in order to conduct this struggle with confidence, and in some instances, pressure from below must be applied to wavering or double dealing administration. As far the ideological and political sphere, the position of the masses towards militancy becomes a decisive factor as well.

Militants count on their attacks on corrupt State administration – a truly unjust. But masses through bitter experience are becoming wiser and more perceptive than the Militants thought. They saw through the latters game and are on the verge of to say 'no' to Militancy, but are prepared to say 'yes' to the State Administration, because they had no illusions about it, but because they had no illusions about the

terrorist struggle against the State, and not because they had any illusion about the State and Political Democracy. They have put their own slogan, "preserve the State in order to change it, and refurbish its image in opposition to militants slogan of 'Destroy the State and its Organ's of power. Massive participation of State's people in developmental activities-garnaring the benefits from the Government, loans, employment opportunities bear sufficient testimony to this fact that people defended the State.

Gang wars, surrenders on large scale, increase in dissident groups and renegades sufficiently indicate that Militancy is now suffering one set back after another is due, in particular, to the negative stand that has been taken towards it by the Kashmiri people by now.

Finally, "in forming a policy towards Militancy, one must start from its actual, not imaginary nature, and evaluate its strong and weak points, its possibilities and perspectives on the basis of knowledge, not fantastic impressions of a sensational or panic-stricken nature. It is this mystified image of militants as people who are invincible as a result of their religious fanaticism, and who disdain all barriers and are not interested in the practical results of their activities, which gives rise to an image of an invincible many headed hydra, which immediately sprouts new flame breathing heads for every head that is chopped off. However, this impression only holds true in regard to a very narrow circle of indviduals, who do not decide the fate of the militant movement as whole. Militants en-masse are neither strong people, nor people of integrity; their ideology is a concoction of negative passions, their actions are to a great extent, a form of psychological release, the result of impatience, and an impatience, which is not so much political as psychological. This mental and spiritual state can rarely be either stable or of any duration; Disappointment, the realization of, if not the criminal essence, then at least the senselessness of their activities, and the abnormality of an underground, semi-underground way of life sooner or latter come home to them."

The recent trend of renegades, surrenders will not stop, its flow will increase. It will be even greater if not for the fear of retribution on the part of their comrade-in-arms and the stiff prison sentences awaiting them.

It is no accident furthermore, that many of the arrested leaders (and of those who are still at large) of militant organisations are revising their attitude towards militancy in one way or another. Thus while in prison, erstwhile militants appeal to the outside cadre to cease their terrorist activity and condemned it. The leaders of renegad's vanguard (Badar Billal group) recently spoke against absolutizing the armed struggle and called for a much shunned change over to dialogue with the Centre and political struggle. Moreover, dissident militants, have, of late, been forced to undertake some self criticism (Inqilabi group, Badar Sherazi group) and admit that their activity has led to a loss of contact with the masses.

While commenting on these facts Kashmir is still a patient who has not yet recovered, but is already recuperating. Journalists within State justly censure themselves for having underestimated the latent crisis of Terrorism. Only a small group (Hizbul Mujahideen, Jammait-ul-Mujahideen, Harkat-ul-Ansar) ever decreasing group of dyed-in-the wool dogmatics, as well as persons who fear just retribution for the terrible crimes they have committed and those who lead the lives of "scalp-hunter's, for whom this way of life and the intoxication they experience at the secret power they weild over others have become habitual, are still loyal to the militant cause. However, where the 'scalp hunters are concerned this is no longer a matter of political mission, but of pure criminal actions. There exists a dangerous interest in militancy and terrorism on the part of reactionary circles (Jamait-e-Islami) and special services of Pakistan (ISI), which both support and manipulate it from behind the scenes. Nevertheless, there are two cardinal weaknesses in their position in respect to militancy. They appeal to militants in order to use them secretly to carry out, that which, for various reasons, they cannot do openly.

Kashmir Militancy is still a force to be reckoned with.

Despite its significant loses, such organisations, having a fanatic core have not yet been completley liquidated. From time to time, these organisations make themselves known through new murders, bombings and thefts. **Naturally, militancy, which is most complex problem, cannot be examined through a prism of joyous optimism. A struggle is a struggle, and no one can** predict its outcome with complete accuracy. In the light of above analysis it is clear that terrorism itself lacks all historical perspective and is at present on the verge of complete defeat and disintegration.

There is a possibility that still exists of Kashmiri insurgency being galvanised and provoked by forces (both within the country and international reaction, American interest being uppermost to have a foothold in Kashmir) interested in disrupting the political situation in Kashmir. **The process of Kashmir's complete recuperation from afflicted by a disease called Militancy can be lengthy and tortuous one, fraught with dangerous relapses. That is why there can be no question as yet of a sense of complacency in regard to Militancy.** Secular democratic forces, politically and ideologically committed to the cause, (not mercenaries) must constantly be ever vigilant and on the alert to militancy and its behind the scene's instigators. The basic factor in the political and ideological sphere is the position of masses towards militancy. How to win over the Kashmiri masses is a vital question? There are reasons to believe that such a struggle for restoration of Peace And Democracy is dependent on the pre-requisits of psychological skill and just scientific theory. What is happening is not academic discussing but battle for the hearts of people.

Populists of all varieties and religious demagogues know how to play on the emotions of crowd. As was subsequently confirmed in the early period of insurgency (1990-1994) lack of political and psychological preparedness cost the democratic and secular forces dear. It proved to be for more difficult to fight against armed fanatic religious fundamentalists then against previous secessionist movements. The Militancy cannot be tackled only by militarily, it is only the mass movement that can eliminate it. The nationalist, secularists, all types of

democrats, progressives must assume the offensive in order to be victorious. The 'motto' of the militants is 'Death.' Whereas the motto of Secular Democrats is 'Life.' The latter always wins.

The cardinal question of "autonomy" is pivotal in the mobilization of masses and vital to win over their support. It is both psychological and Political. The ruling establishment evades this question-autonomy vis-a-vis Kashmir. Historically Kashmiri were correct at the time of accession to keep certain safeguards, to have a lose federal tie up with the Centre-1952-Delhi Kashmir agreement. In 1947, the prevalent notion about future of India was thought to be 'one nation, one centre and one identity. Infact India was a multi-cultural and multi-religious comprising numerous identities. Kashmiris were ful... of vision and had a far more political insight into future of t... sub-continent. Pakistan established on war cry of 'Mus... Rashtra' proved a flop when it got cut to size, emerge... Bangladesh. The ruling establishment did not learn the h... lesson. The autonomy instead of being expanded to oth... of the country, the Kashmiri autonomy was acqu... eroded through undemocratic measures. It gave birth... hurt sentiment in particular in 1953. This psyc... was exploited by Paksitan and Pro-Pak fu... the Valley. Hindu Communalist organi... Division of State or independence... problem. Such solutions will aggrava... continent. The concept of n... time worn and obsolete... partition. partition has ... Pakistan, India ... Politically bac...

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demanding greater space for autonomy and group rights within the domestic area of the State jurisdiction."

(India, the Federal State and the Kashmir Problem)

"Experiments with Confederation-South Asia)

(International Conference Philadephia, (Annual 1995) – – Main Stream, New Delhi.

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"Indeed the format of new federal Union is envisaged as less rigid and more flexible to accommodate socio-cultural diversities also in the mould of confederation... The earlier and familiar concept of exclusive State Soverignty has become partially in-operative and even absolete... on the other hand there is increasing assertion for ethnic identities not necessarily conflicting with the larger sovereign state but

demanding greater space for autonomy and group rights within the domestic area of the State jurisdiction."

(India, the Federal State and the Kashmir Problem)

"Experiments with Confederation-South Asia)

(International Conference Philadephia, (Annual 1995) - - Main Stream, New Delhi.

Appendix I
The autonomy and nationality question in Jammu and Kashmir State

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was founded and constituted by Maharaja Gulab Singh. The union was imposed from above by the Dogra ruler and was vested with separate entity through "Treaty of Amristsar," 1846. The Jammu and Kashmir State is predominantly a muslim state in Indian Union with 34% minority population. The root cause of Kashmir State's idiosyncratic political development can be explained by the concept of uneven development of three regions, classes and political consciousness. It is this process of intrication that gives an acute complexity to historical development. External factors can not be excluded.

Many students of politics and history inside and outside the State have distorted the concept of state autonomy within the purview of Federalism and regional autonomy within the Jammu and Kashmir context.

During freedom struggle, when movement spread, into rural areas and peasents came on the forefront the importance of the various languages had to be recognised by the national leaders.

A committee under Pt. Moti Lal Nehru was appointed by the All Parties Conference (1928) to determine the principles of the constitution for India. (It is remarkable that half a century ago, the national leaders in principle accepted the

redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis, and problems of nationalities was recognised, Recognition of linguistic nationalities in the midist of assertion of Indian unity is seen here. "At the time of formulation of constitution, large majority of parliament members believed that the use of many Indian languages and of English were compatible with national unity and with the evolution of a national spirit."[1]

The genesis of nationality question came into prominence since Russian Revolution. Lenin, architect of modern Russian state evolved the theory of Right of Self Determination to the oppressed nations, nationalities and autonomous regions. Zarist Russia was prison of nationalities. Hence after revolution Russia was reorganised on the basis of multilingual republics and autonomous regions.

The people of the state, during their freedom struggle and spreheading the all Indian state peoples movement against autocracy, adopted the concept of autonomy of nationalities in 1944, for the solution of problem of nationalities and regions. In the introduction to 'New Kashmir' (Page 7) published by Mr. K.N. Bamzai, the following extract makes the issue clear...

"In our times the Soviet Russia has demonstrated before our eyes... The inspiring picture of the regeneration of all different nationalities and peoples of the U.S.S.R and their well being together into mighty Soviet State, that is throwing back its barbarous invaders with deathless heroism...."

The same idea was reiterated in the preamble of New Kashmir and the resolution embodying the same spirit was adopted in Spore session, 1945, of All J&K National Conference. Pt. Nehru and Khan Gaffar Khan participated in the deliberations of this session. On the nationality problem it was a new vision evolved by state people having All India perspective. On he basis of these ideas, after independence Indian provinces were re-organised on linguistic basis and in the spirit of this principle an autonomous state of Jammu and Kashmir within Indian union came into being, embodying the temporary provision of Article 370 of Indian Constitution.

As a result of the rising freedom movement the people of Kashmir overcame the religious and communal appeal and decided to throw in their lot with India's democratic anti-imperialist movement, and took the decision to remain in India. This was a big blow to the two nation theory, that nations are based on religion, Hindus and Muslims as separate nations. Due to certain mistakes of the centre the process of genuine integration could not be carried forward, therefore grew - ressurecting old - barriers.

The oft-repeated formulations that insertion of Article 370, in the Indian Constitution was concession to Kashmiris for accession; State movement for freedom was regional nationalism and autonomous position of the State created inter-regional power imbalance are mere shibboleths.

The approach adopted by State people in 1944 and 1945, on the problem of nationalities and question of autonomy was endorsed by Indian National Congress in its Congress election programme in 1946. It said: "The Congress has envisaged a free, democratic state with rights and liabilties of all citizens guaranteed in the constitution. The Constitution in **its view should be federative with autonomy for its constitutient units,** and its legislative organs elected under universal adult franchise. The Federation of India must be a willing union of its various parts. In order to give the maximum freedom to its constituent units there may be minimum list of common and essential subjects which will apply to all units, and a further optional list of common subjects which may be accepted by such units as desired to do so."

The Kashmir freedom movement foreseeing the troubles ahead, raised such issues of autonomy prior to independence and drafting of the Indian constitution. The constitution that was framed was federal in nature but contained the seeds of central domination. It visualised the capitalist path of development which required India as a unified single homogenous market.

On the concept and quantum of autonomy of states, the kashmir State's freedom struggle was the habinger of autonomy

in India that placed centre state relations in right perspective. It is not an accident that now several political partie and ministeries are raising it. Even some Congress (I) ministries demand some change, so untenable is the position.

In a conclave of non-Congress parties all India political parties including Left wing states, the theme of the quantum of autonomy demanded by the cross sections of political parties is the status enjoyed by Kashmir State in so-called pre-errosion period of article 370 (temporary provision of Indian Constitution).

The main recommendations of Srinagar Conference (convlave) to which Dr Farooq Abdullah played host are of vital importance in the development of the concept of Autonomy - restrucuring centre state relations.

It says: "The institution of Governor has been misused. The position of Governor we feel should in no way be different from that of the President. We suggest that the Governor be appointed by the President on the basis of the panel forwarded by the State Government concerned." It also demanded that articles 356 and 357, which enable the President to dissolve state government or the assembly should be suitably amended. The present economic imbalances and deprivations of many states are the consequences of over-concentration of economic powers and resources." From the preceeding historicla factual position, it is crystle clear that concept of central-state relations on the basis of federatism and autonomy of states within the Indian Union oriented in pre-independence phase and after, was off-shoot of Indian freedom struggle. The observations of Mr Bal Raj Puri, dubbing it as 'local nationalism,' and K.K. Bhat in his treatise depicting the kashmir struggle as 'regional' and by Hari Ram - another prominent author, in his dissertation, "special status in Indian Federatism" degrading the Kashmir struggle as a parochial movement, "where the special status propped the accession of State to India" - for the information of these authors, when Kashmiris acceeded to India, the sub-continent was in a state of communal frenzy and warfare." It was not the eve of

insertion of article 370, in the constitution of India. The assertions of these authors are mere shibboleths having no historical validity.[2]

During the freedom struggle, when Congress became a mass movement, the organisation of the Congress was based on linguistic areas. This recognition arose from national struggle, as a part of the movement for national unity. National consciousness and linguistic awakening developed side by side, helping each other. After independence, in spite of central resistance, the demand for formation of linguistic provinces increased, and principle of linguistic nationalities had to be conceded.

The concept of regional autonomy of Jammu within the context of J&K autonomy and national integration is far more complex than that of any other state in the Indian Union. After independence tow cross currents, pernicious retrograde surfaced in the two regions - Kashmir and Jammu. After abolition of monarchical rule the Jammu's common people were misled by provested interests to misconstrue, emergence of new political power as "shift of power" from Jammu to Kashmir. The new power based on democratic principles and its economic programme 'land to tiller' was an all India Phenomenon, not having any localistic tinge. The bizaree proposition that Kashmir being a muslim majority state the beneficiaries were by and large muslims is a farcical proposition. Then muslims in India can be justified in saying that India being a majority Hindu state, the beneficiaries are majority of Hindus. These brain-child theories are untenable in the age of reason.

I wonder that authors of such formulations posing leading academicians have advocated philistinism.

Immediately after the achievement of freedom, the Jammu people under the leadership of provested interests wrongly reacted to the autonomous status of the state – i.e. for abrogation of article 370, in the Indian constitution. Having no historical prevision, that movement for autonomy of states will achieve the all India dimensions, provinces will be reorganised on linguistic basis the Indian federal set-up will move in the

flexible direction, movement for more powers will get momentum in all the states of Union, states will not be ruled by one party for all times to come, the Jammu people by and large were lured into the slogan of so-called integration.

The exponents of one antion theory failed to comprehend the problem in its entirety as a problem of Indian Democracy. In the autonomous position of state, they only smelt fissiparous tendencies in it. Such a posture of the region had its sharp reaction in Kashmir. In post 1953 phase, the formation of plebiscite front and its advocacy for 'right of plebiscite and for 'right of self determination' degraded the healthy concept and confused it with Right of Secession; separatism and regional chauvnism. But the concessions had to be made to these forces and historic Accord of 1975, between S.M. Abdullah and Smt. Indira Gandhi came into existence. In Indian conditions the demand for Right of Self determination and Right of Secession was given up i.e. plebiscite. This demand was replaced by the reiteration of autonomous status within the union and in its relation to be governed by article 370 of the constitution of India. The residuary powers of legilation shall remain with the state, but provisions of the constitution of India already applied to the state without adaptations or modification are unlaterable. No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister and the matter is therefore remitted to the principles.

The Accord delineating the autonomy of state was hailed by all India parties except Bhartiya Janata Party.

It is after Accord, that Jammu's politics of integration for more than three decades, veered around to the demand for Autonomy for Jammu. It is a long hazardous journey from politics of integration to the idea of autonomy. But report of the Jammu and Kashmir commission of Enquiry in its recommendations in 1968, spurned the idea of autonomy for Jammu, as lacking popular support and may finally lead to the 'disingegration of the state.'[3] I think the rejection of the regional Autonomy of Jammu, may have been motivated by the

politics of fragmentation and separation as witnessed in the case of Telenganna, Vidarbha, present posture of substantial section of Assamese speaking people fallen victim to slogan mongering of the Chauvnists who openly take an anti-Indian stand.

The subsequent developments in Punjab and agitation for Gorkha land justify the validity or apprehensions of the commission in rejecting the autonomy to the (Jammu region.' Moreover Punjab's example should caution those who loosely talk about restructuring of centre-state relations do not necessarily take a principled democratic stand. the demand for Khalistan takes a separatist stand identifying religion with nationality. This is de novo resurrecting of Mr. Jinaha's two nation theory. "These separatist movements are presented on a tempting platter of perverted and distorted nationalism and regionalism. But such retrogade trends should not dampen our spirits to deny the status of real autonomy to the states and regions and undo the success achieved in he direction of status of autonomy of the states – a demand achieved after a bitter and prolonged struggle."[4]

The demand for regional autonomy for Jammu :

There is no provision for 'autonomy' either in Indian or Kashmir constitution. Recently parliament rejected the bill granting regional autonomy to the 'Darjeling District sponsored by parliamentary group of C.P. (M). However, there are precedents where the concept of regional autonomy has been evolved and implemented. The instances are – Tribal regional council in Tripura, Vidharba, Marthwada in Maharashtra and Saurashtra and Kutch in Gujarat. Separate statutory boards have been recommended for the development of these regions. These measures constitute pioneering attempts towards the evolution and development of autonomy of regions. Much headway has been made in the constitutional sphere regarding the concept of "Autonomous Regions in the Soviet Russia. The experiment is worth to be studied. The recent bill incorporating the idea of 'Regional autonomy for Districts of Darjeeling may be thoroughly examined. It may set an example as for as

model for autonomous regions is concerned.

The Commission headed by Mr. Gajendra-Gadkar while inquiring regional disparities in 1968 came to the conclusion that :-

"The alleged imbalance in development programme and the policies purused by the state government in the matter of recruitment to service and the provision of educational facilities, are themselves some of the principal causes of irritation and tension in the state."

This finding of commission, partly true, reduces the whole concept of autonomy to a grocers view. The autonomous conception is all comprehensive. It is an endeavour to bring about inter-regional unity. Regional unity pre supposes that common people inhabiting the various regions must have common interests. To forge and develop common interests it is necessary to abolish the present system of capitalist exploitation and build a true socialist system where institution of private property is abolished. The elimination of exploiters and "social parasites": will ensure a new era of inter-regional amity and fraternity.

The pro-vested interest ideologies while deliberating the issue of autonomy present the nationality problem in isolation from the struggle for the establishment of classless society, which in its immediate phase is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-big-bourgeois in content. Such an approach, is lacking in class bias and nt enabling the unity of the Indian people and toilers. This type of tackling the autonomy problem in isolation from class struggle leads to regionalism, separatism and secessionism.

The regional autonomy, should be differentiated from pure regionalism, economism (grocers view) and politics of fragmentation.

Regarding the issue of autonomy there can be no two opinion.s But within nation and nationality, there are two nations and two nationalities – upper classes and common working people. The idea of autonomy should not either mean

compromise, then there is likelihood of contradiction. It should not be concession to separatism. The integration of the nation is supreme. The national question is one of the most important and complicated questions of social development. The question of nationalities should be approached not only historically but also politically, associating it with the ideas of class struggle. It should be stressed that nationality is not as some sort of extra class or 'supra-class' phenomenon. Nationalities and regions comprise peoples standing at lower stages of socio-economic development. The concept of regional autonomy should not be reduced to mere regional economism.

Since independence society in our state, in all regions is marked by "Social parasitism" and economic development. Let us recall Professor P.C. Joshi's analysis of the role played by Social parasitism in India after independence in his monumental book, "Marxism And Social Revolution In India." **"The politicians and bureaucrates assumed more and more the character of businessman** and the businessmen tended to encroach more and more into the spheres of politics and administration." This is the situation in our state today – "Khawaja"[5] in Kashmir and "Lala" in Jammu rules roost in both the regions abetted by administrative intelligentsia.

In resolving the autonomy problem, genuine patriots, both Kashmiri and Dogras must keep the above historical fact in mind, that while the common people of various regions will do the fighting social parasitic classes will be stealing towards power and grabbing of wealth and exploitation and the unabated craze for 'getting rich quick' through whatever means and methods possible.

In evolving the scientific solution to the regional imbalances needs to be overhauled and departure made from traditional, sterotyped stratigies. Professor Johsi in the chapter "National integration and Development processes" of his work, cities the observations of a "Report of the Fact Finding Committee on Regional imbalances in Maharashtra under the Chairmanship of Prof. V.M. Dandekar–

"Taking note of tremendous pressure from lagging

regions which have suffered from neglect and discrimination, the report demarcates two distinct and contradictory approaches to development." To quote :

"Speaking of economic development, one often vaguely talks of raising the average. **But the average may be raised either by lifting the top or lifting the bottom.** There are two alternative strategies of, or approaches to, development."

Four decades back, in 1944, 'New Kashmir' programme had forewarned about the emergence of the class of social parasites in the society and in part II on the chapter, "The National Economic Plan," had inserted the clause, "that planned economy should ensure.... the elimination of parasites from the state economy."

(New Kashmir P-23)

"Since independence, regional economic disparities in India have not declined. The development of monopoly capital necessarily enhances regional economic disparities. Capital flows to regions and states where maximum profit can be made in the shortest possible time. That measn states where infrastructural facilities of power, transport, water credit and skilled labour are most available. No amount of sermonising and appealing by state Chief Ministers and Central Ministers to the FICCI to invest capital in the backward regions can melt the hearts of hard boiled businessmen.[6]

While discusisng the concept of regional Autonomy it should be kept in mind that in India there was no dominant or oppressing nationality which dominated or oppressed the other lesser Indian nationalities. Jingoistic nationalism sometimes presented disguised in the form of sub-nationalism of reigon, should be combated in every region. Autonomy as a concept has to exist within the family of peoples of state. The question of centre-state relations is broader than that of regional economic dispariets. It is involved and inter-connected with the concept of regional autonomy.

"The movement for regional autonomy is not purely a cultural phenomenon in Indian context. Quote : "In our context

it is not a homogenous one, but derives from divergent class roots. At a political level both centralization as well as the reaction to it in terms of regional autonomy have their origins, on the one hand in the contradictions within the ruling classes, and on the other, in the contradictions between the rulers and the people. The deepening economic crisis accentuates both contradictions. It results into one objective situation in which regional movements thrive and seek greater autonomy for the regions resulting into movements of divisive sub-nationalism in th present chaotic concept. The Indian path of capitalist development and its growth has assumed the economic form of self-perpetuating unevenness, both region wise and community wise.[7] As in the case of Jammu region, before the adoption of single line administration system, uneven development manifested sharply in relation to communities – Gujjar, Bakerwals, Pharis – muslim minority inhabiting Poonch, Rajouri, Doda district and major portions of Udhampur) and schedule castes. In the name of region much of the benefits of growth were grabbed by upper classes in Jammu and Kathua district. It was natural that in such a situation since 1947, pre capitalist classes, merchants, landlord and Kulaks introduced the use of premodern obscurantist ideologies and social institutions to prop itself up politically – emergence of 'Praja Parishad,' Jana Sangh, R.S.S. and presently an aggressive militant Hindu organisation – Shiv Sena, Such a phenomena can be explained in the prevalance and virulance of caste bases, comunal and other divisive agitations.

The struggle for state autonomy and regional autonomy is a precondition for democratic reorganisation of federal policy and for lasting national unity based on the equality and voluntary union of state people belonging to various cultural streams.

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir, there is a serious danger that genuine aspirations for autonomy may be used by 'social parasites' surreptitiously to divide the unity of people within different national groups to weaken them and push them towards exclusiveness and chauvunism – Jammat-e-Islami and other splinter groups in Kashmir and Shiv Sena in Jammu.

Presenting the case of regional autonomy of Jammu region in isolation from the unity of state, and inter-regional unity, will certainly lead to 'regionalism, Separatism and secessionism. While fight against inter-regional inequality, the manner of conducting the struggle and aim is to create a growing fusion of various regions on the basi sof a growing sense of equality.

In the Kashmir state different community, linguistic and regional groups in government services on the state level often become victims of narrow communal, regional and chauvnism fostering mistrust and animosity between different communities, regions in the state. Hidebound religious divisions are fostered by certain forces to divide and disrupt the same language – speaking region on the basis of religion, the case of religious minority in Jammu region or likelihood of any injustice to minority in Kashmir. These manifestations reflect perverted and distorted regionalism and nationalism.

After independence the state is faced with the existence of diverse linguistic gorups – Urdu – Hindi – Dogri, Kashmiri, Punjabi, Balti, and Ladhaki etc. It is mini multi-lingual state. The right of people to receive instruction in their mother tongue (as stated by Chief Minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah in educational institution and also provision for use of the language of minority here necessary, in addition to the language of the state shall be implemented). The J&K State is the only state in the Union where Urdu is the official language. It should be developed and its scripts, shall be protected. It is the tested method as how to solve the problem of ensuring equality of all languages.

The real problem of nationalities and regional autonomies has three aspects (1) ensuring the equality of all languages (2) equal partnership with the political power (3) removal of regional disparities from bottom. The uneven economic development is concommittant of capitalist path of development. It becomes a handy weapon for regionalists and reactionaries to set the claims of one nationality against another.[8]

The problem of autonomy is not a problem related to constitutionalism, legalism, economism but all pervading

problem. It is an integral part of struggle for democracy secularism and genuine social revolution. Its wrong application and misinterpretation may spread the lot of devisiviness. The concept of regional autonomy is meant to accommodate healthy regional pride, one source of which in local language, as to nourish a genuine federalism. In the recent past the slogan of regionalism has become handimade of obscurantists, communalists and has released genie of internecine conflict within and between the regions. The hunger for cutting up the country into more pieces has by no means been assuaged. On the contrary it has been whetted. While tackling the issue it should be kept in mind that in essence the problem of regions and nationalities and of national integration in our country is more difficult than that in any other capitalist country in the world.

The reason is that we are faced with the caste and untouchability and major minority problem which exists nowhere else. India, infact, is a maze of social antiquities and complications.

The question of nationalities and regions is question of classes, it is only with the gradual extinction of classes, by merging the nationalities, national pecularities, differences will disappear. But the solution of national question must be our endeavour.

The theory that nation is formed by common cultural values is historically fallacious. It puts forward the slogan "of National Culture," while ignoring the bourgeois (capitalist) content. Finally it abandons inter-nationalism: (Phenomenon of Fascism, as "extreme nationalism," in Fascist Italy and Hilters' rascist Germany). Against the cultural approach to the proble it may be observed that the elements of culture-democratic and socialist are present in every nationality, since in every nationality, there are toiling and exploited masses. But every nationality and region possesses a bourgeois culture and mostly a reactionary and clercial - culture as well. Therefore, general national culture is the culture of upper classes of landlords, the clergy and capitalists.[9]

The historical community of J&K state in modern history is now more than one and half a century old. The four decades of unon of Jammu and Kashmir after independence helped Jammu region to extract itself from throes of feudalism, illiteracy, backwardness. It witnessed the development of language, basis of infrastructure and emergence of modern intelligentsia. These aspects were non-existent during the feudal rule. The union of two regions has in no way stunted Jammu in her development.

The aspect of restructuring centre state relationship is broader than that of regional economic disparities. The solution to this problem is to be sought within the purview of federalism. To redefine this relationship, Indira Gandhi government in response to strident demand for greater devolution of authority appointed Sarkaria Commission Dr Farooq Abdullah's government, it is reported by Press, has reiterated the retention of autonomy enjoyed by state under article of 370 of Indian constitution, adherence to the existing division of powes between the state and the centre in the light of instrument of accession, Delhi Accord of 1952, and Kashmir Accord of 1975. Another notable feature of the position taken by government is that it has asserted its jurisdiction over residual-powers' not specified in three lists. Such a position of state is inconsonance with flexible concept of federalism and autonomy of state within the Union.

As regards Jammu Autonomy, even after expressing the fear, that autonomy of Jammu may finally lead to the disintegration of the state, report of the J&K Commission of Inquiry 1968, opp. cit. page 83, headed by Gajendragadkar conceded in the same report that regional autonomy "may lead to greater consolidation of the (Jammu's) region with the rest of the state."

The concept of autonomy is indivisible. In the same breath one canot advocate regional autonomy and be adversary to the autonomy of the state as a whole.

Inter-regional autonomy pre supposes the autonomy of state, as it is its precondition. **You cannot run with the here**

and hunt with the hounds. One cannot be loyal to two opposing sides at the same time, in order to gain advantages from both.

Prof. Hari Ram of government College, Jammu, in his thoght provoking book, 'special status in modern federalism (Jammu and Kashmir), has summed up the idea of state and regional autonomy in a most lucid manner. To quote, "The deletion of Art. 370, would also freeze centre-state relations at existing level and halt the process of further integration if any with India, what is required is a sense of allegiance towards India in a broader spectrum alongside the regional loyalities in the state, both being complementary in a sound federal system."

In principle, let me conclude that concept of autonomy both in its application to state as a whole, and in its inter-regional context is socially dynamic concept. We should not be

abhorent to the idea.

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Appendix II
J&K Problems And Contradictions of Regional Identity

I. Inter-Regional Problem :

Regional relations, involving the use of hurt identity pride by rightists and chauvnists, asrecent national and international experiences show, are among the most socio-psychological tensions and delicate sphere of human mentality and existence. Masses of people inhabiting various regions forming the J&K State react aggressively to any feeling of slight or discrimination to their regional sentiment. In post-independence phase, while undoubtedly, there are positive tendencies towards inter-regional assimilation, inter-dependence and integration of various nationalities on a macro-scale, there are simultaneously efforts towards asserting one's own regional identity. There have been agitations, outbursts and demands for overcoming all signs of inequality and discrimination and recognition for ones own language and culture within the ambit of universal culture. Even the right to manage one's own affairs within the broad democratic polity has been espoused.

Much water has flown under the bridges, since Stalins formulation on the National question and pre-independence formulation of the same problem by the then National Conference in 1945 Session at Sopore. To try and enunciate regional identities on the basis of this premises, and try to fit them within these sterotypes and formulas without regard to time and space; and other factors, would be dogmatic and lacking in originality.

The USSR acknowledged as a model for the solution of Nationality question, we have recently witnessed the problems of Moscdow in the cacasus. The dispute of course, is not between Moscow and the republics but between the two communities. How tenacious the problem can be even after 70 years of socialism?

Coming to the J&K State, the ethnic problem, in its multilaterla and diverse forms continues to be one on the forefront of political stage. Even the nascent and dormant tribal communities – Gujjars, Pharis, Shaddis etc. developing within the matrix of capitalist Market, stirred up by voting rights have begun to articulate their demands.

2. Identity and the nature of contradiction :

The State scene as is discernible from facts of recent history, there exist two simultaneous and apparently conflicting two trends in relation to regional identities.

One is centrifugal, which if analysed critically is in its manifestation disruptive, to inter-regional unity and unity of State and fraternal bonds of people belonging to three regions of State, viz Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh.

Fundamentalism of various hues – Hindu and Muslim, caste and so on are pressed into service for stirring up such divisive and disruptive movements. Communalism is the main driving force, and it becomes difficult job to separate the wheat (chaff) from the chaff. There is a second trend whicdh is centripetal, outcome of deep patriotism and sense of the unity of state and the people and therefore the need to assert and struggle for inter-regional unity and integrity in the present complex national situation. In the malestrom of disruptive movements, imperialism and its agents take advantage of situation, with a view to destabilize our State.

3. Political Evolution of identity and the Socio-historical Activity :

The process of political evolution of regional identities is of dual nature. One, which having defined J&K as a State,

refuses to see the multiregional character of the State and two, which absolutizes the multi-regional character and therefore fails to see the unity of the State as a whole, which sees the trees and not the wood.

In tackling the problem of regional identities the most vital question of ourday, fiz: States unity and integrity and correct solution of all issues inter-linked with say, 'Centre State relations,' balanced regional development, up-holding the genuine democracy, elevating and enriching States political structure, recognition of long dormant and backward ethnic groups and communities. The present state system not only alienates great majority of citizens from power in practice but also they remain univolved informal participation in affairs of government, and so in fact there is no '**public political life.**'

4. What is Identity :

Roger Seritpms. 'A Dictionary of Political Thought,' defines Ethnicity as:

"The desire to conserve or recapture a political identity based upon race, region, or any tradition which has its rationale in membership of an ethnic group – a group in terms of blood relation, language and regional attachment."

The major ethnic groups of J&K State are:

Kashmiris, Dogras, Ladakhis, Gujjars and Dards.

5. Kashmiri Identity :

"According to Dr. H.D. Sankalia, therenowned Anthoropologist; identity is continuous anthropolotical, sociological and cultural process from first glacial period and the beginning of second 'ice Age in the South West of Himalayas. In the remote past. "Burzahama" excavations indicate existence of highest civilization in Kashmir, matching highly civilized countries of that Epoch. Here was the Kashmiri identity in making. Commitment to the mother tongue (Kashmiri) is an imperative of the Kashmiri identity.

Said Dr Manzoor Fazli, in his thought provoking article,

'Geography behind Religions personality of kashmir."

"The dawn of Islam in Kashmir, netiehr turned Jewish, Buddhist or Hindu tradition upside down nor distorted any of them but absorbed each in itself. This absorption, however, converted the land of Kashmir from the land of Holy trees, Sapha - the Hebrew influences, through stupes, Vineras and land of Parvati to that of "Peer Wier" i.e. (land of Peers).... the change to progress is still in the genesis of Kashmir." The Kashmiri Ethos came to stand for religious tolerance, communal amity, fraternity. To live and let live. To forge friendship and cultivate lasting bonds.

On this soil Kashmiri poets like Lala Ded, Habba Khatoon, Nund-Rihsi, Arin Mal, Mahmood Gami, Rasool Mir, Mehjoor, Azad, Nadim by the musicality of their text and content lent lyricism to Kashmiri folk songs, poems, common songs and fabbles. **The Kashmiri identity is the love of music, poetry and vigrous life to sound like symphony.**

Kashmiris contribution to the freedom struggle is a glorious page of history.

When independence came, entire sub continent was a flame with communal passions, Kashmir kept cool, demonstrated Examplary communal amity and peace. Mahatma Gandhi greated them with a message "I see a ray of hope in darkness in Kashmir."

This is the Kashmiri identity in its sublime : The dynamic and developing concept of identity since late Zias fundamentalist thrust across the border and Kashmir Jamats orthodox and reactionary formulations of Islam, have dangerously distorted it. In its history, Islam, have dangerously distorted it. In its history, Islam lent itself to liberal, progressive, revolutionary interpretations, as well as fundamentalist, orthodox and reactionary. The first trend stresses, reconstruction, renovation, "Tajdid" and adaptation. The second trend emphasizes conformity, authoritarian guidance and return to the legacy of proto-Islam.

The Kashmiri identity has been deformed and distorted to

a large extent. It is being posed in the form of religious identity - Its basic-culture, language, tradition, historically constituted community of people, economic life and psychological make up are brushed aside. Even there have been attempts to link up identity problem based on religion to All India Muslim League (March 1940) Lahore resolution which delineated that Islam and Hinduism were not religions in strict sense of the word, but two different religions philosophies, social customs and literatures." To quote Professor P.N. Dhar, 'Separatism in Kashmir is more a muslim problem, than a regional problem. Both in Punjab and Kashmir, religious ideologies are often dressed up as regional grievances to secure the support of secular minded political elements and the liberal intelligentsia."

6. Dogra Identity :

Dogras are a characteristically anethnic group of Jammu. Spoken language in the region is Dogri - a mixture of Sanskrit, Punjabi, Persian and Urdu words. In the 16th and 17th century, a sizeable section of Dogras embraced Islam. Dogra ruling dynasty, consolidated and founded the J&K State. Dogras gave modern laws to the State, thus reformed the legal, constitutional structure, opened Kashmir to the world, by building modern roads - J.W. Road etc. They bore the brunt, and expanded the State and safeguarded the States borders as best as they could. The ballads of Dogras Desh sang of the brave deeds of its fighters, patriots - Mian Didoo, Baba Jito, Zorawar Singh, Com. Dhanwantory, revolutionary and C0mrade in arms of Bhagat Singh, prominent Freedom Fighter hailed from this region. The Dogras became a symbol of heroism, sacrifice, the one who lived in a State of vigilance. Thus another dimension was added to form the region to states character.

In the history of Indian federalism, in the post independence period, before the re-organization of the States on linguistic basis, in the centre-State relationship akin to the essence of Sarkaria recommendations, a bold experiment of autonomy was introduced in the State by founder fathers of constitution, by incorporating article 370 in the Indian Constitution. It included

all the regions of State. Indian reaction, spearheaded mostly by Jammu region agitated for its abrogation and errosion. For a substantial section of Jammu region it was flag waving patriotism, nationalism and chauvnism. Use of hurt regional pride by rightists in Kashmir was exploited to the utmost on this score.

The identity question in the State thus calls for specific solution and remedies arising from its specific character and historical setting. There should be ending of all national and ethnic discrimination, the recognition of full equality of all regions and ethnic groups and for framing up their own personnel, a political state structure which consoles every region to manage their own domestic affairs, **formation** of regional councils within the common democratic state polity.

7. Identity-Religion and Politics :

The link up of religion and the regional politics, one cannot miss the point, it can if left unchecked result in the disintegration of State. The potential of Hindu fundamentalist mischief in Jammu region cannot be under-estimated. To evolve Inddpendent Hindu vote in coming elections, the communal and fundamentalist forces of all India basis, have assigned this role in the region to Shiv Sena and R.S.S. In dealing with the identity question, the secular and democratic forces have to ideologically and politically combat attempts to connect religion with the regional problem. Religious fundamentalism and regional identity concepts are contradictory to each othe;r and irreconcilable - Right-wing religious radicalism of any hue corrodes formation and healthy growth of regional identity. Identity shrouded in religious garb degerates either in 'Hindu Rashtra' or two nation theory. Identity and secular democracy are inseparable. **Regional identity cannot be religious identity.**

8. Religious Identity :

Religious fundamentalism is vitally necessary for Right wing politics: Jamat, R.S.S. and Shiv Sena. If we consider political conflicts in absolute categories of good and Evil

inspired accordingly by God and Devil, then a reconcilation of such conflicts is ruled out as unthinkable. If Democracy, composite culture, liberalism and secular humanism are declared schemes of the devil, then it turns out to be the duty of every true believer to do away these evils. A political programme built on such grounds is inevitably characterised by extreme intolerance and authoritarianism.

In Jammu there are instances of one region growing out of several spoken languages – with a "new consciousness." This is especially so about tribal people Gujjars, Pharis etc inhabiting the region.

To conclude, Gunnar Myrdal, author of 'Asian Drama' an custanding Socialogist, Economist and authority on third world problems focuses sharply on the phenomenon of wider nationalism upheld by the national elite and the smaller nationalisms, enjoying broad support of the masses on the basis of region or religions often pulling in contrary directions.

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Appendix III
Kashmir Accord of 1975

(The agreed conclusions which led to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's accord with the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and his subsequent assumption of office as the Chief Minsiter in February 1975).

The state of Jammu and Kashmir, which is a constituent unit of the Union of India shall in its relations with the union, continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Constitution of India.

The residuary powers of legislation shall remain with the state, however, parliament will continue to have power to make law relating to the prevention of activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about the secession of a part of the territory of India from the union of causing insult to the Indian national flag, the Indian anthem and the Constitution.

Where any provision of the constitution of India has been applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir with adoptations and modifications, such adoptations and modifications can be altered or repealed by an order of the president under Article 370, each individual proposal in this being considered on its merits, but provisions of the Constitution of India already applied to the state of Jammu and Kashmir without adaptation or modification are unlaterable.

With a view to assuring freedom to the state of Jammu and Kashmir to have its own legislation on matters like welfare

measures, cultural matter, social security, personal law and procedural laws, in a manner suited to the special conditions in the state, it is agreed that the state government can review the laws made by parliament or extended to the state after 1953 on any matter relatable to the concurrent list and may decide which of them, in its opinion, needs amendment or repeal. Thereafter, appropriate steps may be taken under Article 254 of the Constitution of India. The grant of president's assent to such legislation would be sympathetically considered. The same approach would be adopted in regard to the laws to be made by parliament in future under the provision to clause (2) of that article. The state government shall be consulted regarding the application of any such law to the state and the views of the state government shall receive the fullest consideration.

As an arrangement reciprocal to what has been provided under Article 368, a suitable modification of that article as applied to the State should be made by presidential order to the effect that no law made by the legislature of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, seeking to make any change in or in the effect or any provision of the Constitution of the state of Jammu and Kashmir relating to any of the undermentioned matters, shall take effect unless the bill, having been reserved for the consideration of the president, receives his assent, the matters are:-

(*a*) The appointment powers, functions duties, privileges and immuniies of the governor; and (*b*) the following matters relating to elections, namely, the election commission of India, eligibility for inclusion in the electoral rolls without discrimination, adult suffrage, and composition of the legislative council, being matters specified in section, 138, 140 and 50 of the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister and the matter is thereofre remitted to the principals.

M M Afzal Beg **G Parthasarathi**

Appendix IV
Delhi Agreement – 1952

The following is the summary of the 12-points agreement between India and Sheikh Abdullah's government announced by Jawahar Lal Nehru on 24th July, 1952.

1. Citizenship. A common citizenship was recognised, with special privilege for state subjects.
2. The head of the State to be recognised by the Indian president on the recommendation of the State legislature. The state to decide the process of election of the head of the state. Appointment to be for five years.
3. For "historical and sentimental reasons" a state flag to be recognised but the Indian flag to continue to have the same status as elsewhere in India.
4. The president of India to retain power to reprieve and commute death sentence.
5. The president of India to exercisehis emergency powers under Article 352 of the Indian Constitution in such matters as invasion and external or internal disturbances in Kashmir. But in the case of international disurbance, action to be taken only with the concurrence of the State.
6. The application of principles of fundamental rights, as defined in the Indian Constitution, to apply in Kashmir subject to certain modifications. (For example, the Kashmir decision not to award compensation to dispossessed landlords is contrary to to the Indian guarantee).

7. The Supreme Court of Induia to retain original jurisdiction in respect of dispute mentioned in Article 131. Such disputes are those between states or between a State and the government of India. The state advisory tribunal to to be abolished and its functions are to pass to the Supreme Court of India. This is in effect made the Supreme Court the final Court of Appeal in all civil and criminal matters.

   (The Kashmir government seemed uncertain over their final consent in this matter, and in his statement Pandit Nehru inferred generally that the agreement covered principles but not details.)

8. Financial arrangements between India and Kashmir including the difficult question of customs had still to be worked out.

Appendix V
Kashmir: Patriots and muslim Extremist movement *

Before I touch the central issue, namely what should be our attitude towards Kashmiri Muslim Extremist movement, it is necessary to analyse briefly the situation in Kashmir today with a brief comment on the past:

Early in 1939 – much before partition a movement was born in kashmir, under the banner of National Conference, symbolising radical nationalism, antifeudal, anti-imperialist, secular and socialist in style and character. Unlike Junagadh State, which had large hindu majority or Hydrabad having vital factor of composition of populace and geographical continguity with Indian Union, Kashmir, despite the majority of its population being Muslim, acceded to India **because the state had a powerful democratic movement lead by an enlightened group of leaders, who waged a determined struggle against Islamic fundamentalism and separatism.** The British Imperialists and their Pakistani allies did not relent hand succeeded in transferming the status of state into a continuing bone of contention between Indian Union and Pakistan, which continues even today after four decades of independence a Muslim majority state's accession to India was a plus point for the Country. It showed that the Indian Union was not a Hindu State.

The Hindu Communal approach, spearheaded by Jammu region's praja Parishad (a Hindu revivalist Organisation) demanded that article 370 provided in the constitution should

** Memo submitted to V. P. Singh on 9th March 1990.*

be abrogated. The position of Hindu communalists was endorsed by many in the Congress as well. The outcome of the conflict was dismissal and arrest of S.M. Abdullah. It was a tragedy for the whole country. It was a severe setback to the secular and democratic polity in the country. Kashmir became a festering sore in Indo-Pakistan relations and in the relations between the state and the Centre. This tragic incident of Abdullah's fall promoted communal feelings. It sharpened Muslim communalism in Kashmir. It hurt the Kashmiri sentiments. The policy of accord and discord, destabilisation and divisive tactics adopted by Congress leaders for narrow political ends sharpened the process of alienation of Kashmiri people and in the period since it has only further deepened.

Since 1947, a fragile secessionist movement and elements of subversion were present in the situation but a strong secular mass base could dispense with it.

In 1965, Pakistani adventure, when 5000 infiltrators had crossed the cease fire line, operation failed - because the Kashmiris were in no mood to revolt The generalised concept of joining Pakistan was not sufficient to arouse the people to an attempt to overthrow Sadiq Government. It was a telling blow to Pakistan that a territory which they had imagined would join Pakistan within two or three days did not do anything of that kind. General J.N. Choudhari, the then Army Chief in his post War book. **'Arms, Aims and aspects',** that guerilla movement failed in the valley because none of the infiltrators were Kashmiries.

The 1965 adventure was an eye opener for Pakistan military junta and an exercise was begun in other methods. The method evlved was religious fundamentalism. Experience has shown, however, that it is only when the religious emotions of the Kashmiris are deeply stirred up that they will come out in mass and defy their political leaders. Various fundamentalist outfits initiated a well knit ideological remoulding compaigns in post Bakshi and Sadiq regimes. The prominent outfit - Jamat-i-Islamia made main target the traditional secularism, humanism preached by Kashmiri rishis and saints

(Bakhti culture) the confulence of Hindus and Muslims, legacy of secular leader S.M. Abdullah, age old communal amity and Kashmiri freedom struggle.

The grist to the mill was provided mainly by the Congress (I) at the centre, pursuing a policy of confrontation in regard to National Conference, particularly in the last 10-15 years and also because the economic development was badly neglected- power shortage, no large scale industry, faulty telecommunuications and the only surface link to other parts of 5the country is often closed, causing shortages of essential commodities in the Valley. The large scale rigging in the elections culminating in the rightist offensive in defence of demcoracy. The deteriorating communal situation in the country and the B.J.P's strident stand against Article 370 of the Indian Constitution were contributory factors to add fuel to fire.

Kashmir today, is not merely a problem but a tragedy produced, above all, by the working of the economy and politics of the ruling classes. The Prime political responsibility for it lies through acts of omission and commission with the Cong (I) and its Government at the centre in the past.

There is near total alienation of the Muslims in Kashmir, more particularly of its youth. There have been, however, no comunal riots. But there is a continuing process of fructured identity of Kashmiris as a Nationality. Nurtured by the mutually reinforcing communalism and egged on by official policies, there exists today a schism between Hindus and Muslims. There is a virtual collapse, at least for the time being, of conventional politics – parties, election.

The last important aspect is terrorism. It should be differentiated from extremism. Terrorism is administrative problem but extremism is a political one. Terrorism breeds Kaliahnkov culture, aided and abatted by Pakistan agencies who provide it with training, indoctrination, guns, sanctuary and cash. The general decay of system pravalent, increases wide-spread unemployments, misery and despair. The organisation of lumpen proletarians is a society of disorder.

In the search for a political solution, a beginning can well

be made to regain some of lost credibility with the Muslims of state. The Kashmir problem is not only retention of a piece of teritory, but as late Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister said, in 1951 :

> ".....it is not Kashmir, therefore, but rather much deeper conflict that comes in the way of friendly relations between India and Pakistan and the situation is a grave one. We cannot give up the basic ideal (secularism) which we have held so long and on which the whole conception of our state is founded."

Situation in Kashmir is quite grim. Consequently the Primary and most urgent need at the moment is to find a poliical solution, as against police solution to the Kashmir problem. For the purpose of finding a solution in a broad based, open conference of all the concerned parties and interests, in the state and out side, the National Front Govt, must realise that the solution of the problem and the restoration of peace in this bleeding state requires simultaneous action on three points – Political, administrative, including law and order, the mass compaigning to rouse the people.

The Government must :-

(*a*) take effective measures to step up the fight against terrorism while taking measures to prevent police excesses:

(*b*) come out openly against the demand for a Muslim theorecratic state within India:

(*c*) No misue of religious places for political purposes. Priests mostly have turned religious places into political bastions:

(*d*) the perpetuation of Governors rule in the Sensitive state amounts to dealing with such an important problem at the administrative level. It will internationalise the problem. The only way is to cultivate the political process to fight secessionism;

(*e*) The unity of all secular and nationalist forces in the state, N.C. Cong (I). J.Dal and laftist forces, groups and individuals and all those who stand for the unity and

integrity of the country run a compaign, jointly as well as separately, for the security and justice for all. Obviously joint campaigns must be on the basis of agreed slogans, issues on which there are differences must be taken up from a joint plateform. No one must try to exploit this pulpit:

(*f*) Preservation and strengthening of Article 370, guaranteeing special status to J&K State;

(*g*) Evolving effective measures to cleanse the educational system from Fundamentalist ideology and fundamentalist grip;

(*h*) Drastic measures against rampant corruption and educated unemployment;

(*i*) equal, just income distribution system, to do away with dual society in which about 5 to 10% are enjoying the fruits of growth to the exclusion of the rest of population in the state. In rural sector, benefits of growth rate are also being garnered by 20% Neo-rich (Kulks, orchardists, contractors) who control about 80% of rural assets.

(*j*) From the point of economic development, Kashmir valley has remained backward. There are no big projects in the public sector to absorb the unemployed Kashmiri youth. All these factors have been fully exploited by the Jamat-i-Islami and other pro-Pak groups. There should be adequate representation of Kashmir Muslims in central services, Banking and public sector;

(*k*) The path is today the correct theoretical position for the pursuit and advancement of the alternative progressive dynamic and modern aspect of Islam in contrast to fundamentalist one. Islam by its revolutionary aspect 'Idjitihad' – change and adaptability ws against mechanical reptition – 'Taqlid' and harbinger of renaissance even in Europe. The ideas of secularism, democracy and equality emanated from its philosophy, humanism and ethical concept, Sufism on this premise fundamentalism can be exploded in Kashmir. The light houses of this thought are

Ibn Khaldoon of Spain, Sir Syed, Azad, Iqbal and Kamal of Turkey;

(*l*) Besides separatism, particularly in kashmir valley, state is afflicted with inter-regional strife and tension-Kashmiri-Jamma-Ladakhi. The ethnic problem in the J&K State, in its multilateral and diverse forms continues to be one on the forefront of political stage. Fundamentalism of various hues Hindus-Buddhist, Muslims, Caste and so on are pressed into service for stirring up such devisive and disruptive movements. Communalism is the main driving force. The identity question in the State thus calls for specific solution and remedies arising from its specific character and historical setting. There should be ending of all national and ethnic discrimination the recognition of full equality of all regions and ethnic groups for framing up their own personnel, political state structure which ensures every region to manage their own domestic affairs, formation of regional councils within the common democratic state polity.

We need an exercise in wisdom. Instead the peasant phase in marked by a Policy of bullet for bullet. It may initiate the long and complex history of region. The need of the hour is to mobilise secular, nationalist forces in order to isolate the extremist and face the secessionism.

Dated 1.2.1990

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Appendix 6
Division of Hearts
Kashmiri migrants and symptoms of neophobia

Sad is the plight of Kashmiri migrants. Every sensitive heart bleeds on the choice forced on them to flee from the Kashmir Valley. Since partition there is no such precedent in the history of Sub-continent. Administrative apathy apart, for a Kashmiri it is no less tormenting to bid emotional farewel to bounteous soil, dales and cool gushing springs. Kashmiri has a distinct identity and possesses a great historical cultural heritge. Confulence of Islam and Vendantiesm, gave birth to Rishi-culture-Sufisim, Bhakhti cult. History abounds in incidents of misconceived notions, historical accidentalism and denial of historical facts as a process and subject to change. But the course is not to see only aspect of retrogression and elaboration of a formally non-contradictory schemes of concepts.

Beflections on the recent deliberations of 'Kashmir Pandit Convention' indicate, that they are suffering from what I would term as neophobia, or aversion to or dread of novelty. It's reasons lie in the conservation of human nature, in resignation before, and fear of the unknown future. Whereas those injected by the virus of neophobia continue to harp on the tune that community's ills are result of Kashmir's freedom movement, its leaders and Article 370 of Indian Constitution conferring autonomous status to J&K State.

Regrettably, neophobia has injected not only elite of the community but also conscious segments, community's general public opinion, which is not ready to accept the idea moulded and determined by socio-political forces and historical process. Disquieting developments, that are taking place in our state should not lead us astray. In the deliberations on certain vital historical issues- 'Kashmir Freedom Movement', Article 370 of Indian Constitution, ring-leaders of convention have resorted to distortion, re-writing of history and ignoring historical facts, thereby, misleading the gulible people and trying to become successful in the guise of superficial sympathetic attitude to Kashmir migrants. The main lever of this activity behind the scene is R.S.S. and Shiva Sena.

On the issue of Kashmir Freedom Movement and 1931 explosion, a major event in the modern Indian hisroty, the deliberations betray historical essence. Being engrossed in appearances and perhaps, conventionists consider the 1931 outburst to be essentially communal in character. True Hindu nationalism was pre-cursor of anti-imperialist struggle. It has a distinct context, Azads penIslamism, Gandhi Ji's support to Khalafat Movement were not essentially communal in character. Hindu and Muslim historians failed to discover the basic motivations behind the Hindu source of inspiration of Tilak. Such notions of history have fed and still feed the irrational and obscurantist two nation theory. Tilak was a devout Hindu but militant anti-imperialist, Swami Dayanand Sarswati was anti-imperialist, was religious and social reformer though he was anti-Muslim Muslim because of conversions thatwere going on. Gandhi was religious but Godse his assasin a communal.

The terminology 'nationalist' used in the adopted resolutions is pseudo-ideology of R.S.S. posed as positive secularism. It culminates nto the concept of 'Hindutva' which is nothing but advancing the theory of 'Hindu Rashtra' of R.S.S. in a multireligious and multi-national and multi-cultural society of India. Such a scheme of things is impracticable and a far distant dream. patriotism is universal concept. Hindu and Muslim fundamentalism is misuse of religious feelings and is not genuine religiousity.

National integration is to be based on composite culture and not the so-called Hindu culture and Muslim culture. Incorrect historical approach takes various garbs and some times its exponents appear to be arrayed against each other in opposite camps of modern historiography. But in its essential character, this trend is a unified whole and arises out of the inability to recognise the limitations of social backwardness and its compulsions on the freedom struggle of a stagnating social organism. Basing on a scientific methodology, the conolusion is inescapable. The 1931 revolt was the authentic revolt of the people of the State against the political, social and economic oppression by the ruling class and their henchmen. The rebelleous elements were the Muslim intellegentsia, the trading class and the mass of peasantry who were groaning under the yoke of feudal rule. The limitations imposed by the communal form were importnt but the logic of its national content was of far greater significance. In the formative years even, kashmir movement was not supported by pro-British Muslims. It was supported by the 'Majlis-i-Ahrar' a Pro-Congress and anti-British Organisation.

The freedom struggle of the Kashmiri People had a communal form in its embryonic stage because of the compulsions of social backwardness but it soon broke the shackless of obscurantist, Communalism and became worthy inheritors of the secular and humanistic legacy of its history.

In India, the credit of liquidating the complete feudal structure and autocracy goes to the Kashmiri leadership of whom conventionist have made caricature in their formulations. The measure of abolition of land lordism without compensation is even today far distant cry in India, Pakistan, Middle-East and Latin America. In the back drop of compulsions of social backwardness to invoke, 'Islam' against feudal autocratic structure was not exploitation of religion for malafide purposes. Socio-political Islamic postulates are still relevant, but they are contradictory as well. Suffering under the cruelty and tyranny of the Turks, the Armenians had to rally under the church which became the symbol of their national resistance. The learned formulators of resolutions are ignorant of the historical

fact in 21st century, that church today in many of the Latim American countries, which groan under the yoke of fascist military Junta, is a symbol of resistance. The liberation Theology is a case in point. With due deference to your big wigs who not infrequently pose ignoramuses obviously with intent to stir up credulous multitude on misinformation and crass sentiments; in particular these elements among migrants have been resorting to such tactics since migration with regard to Art. 370 and its abrogation. Art. 370 cannot be legally revoked. The instrument of accession of J&K State was quite different from those signed by other princely states. The Kashmir State's instrument of accession specified that the state could havits constitution, state subject laws would be in vogue.

The Constituent Assembly of Kashmir came out with a separate constitution even as the Indian constitution was framed. And to replace the instrument of accession with constitutional arrangement, the founding fathers of constitution came forth with Art. 370. It provided that the Kashmir constituent Assembly could decide whether Art. 370 would continue, be amended or scraped. So, legally, neither any national referendum nor the Indian Parliament can amend nor scrap the Art. without the consent of Kashmir Constituent Assembly which does not exist and cannot be resurrected.

B.J.P. has also come round tht all states should have more powers. It supports National Front Government on the programme of centre and state relations. It is unequivocal that "The States ought to enjoy genuine autonomy"

The formulation to carve out a separate territorial area to be specified on community basis is fantastic and fraught with dangerous consequences of fragmentation, divisions not only in the State but throughout country. It can become precedent for Khalistan, a Muslim concentrated territory and Christian homeland. It is fraught with danger, of vivisection and balkanization of India and revival of two nation theory.

It is a tragedy that the new generation has niether seen in Kashmir nor in the rest of the country the joint struggle of all communities for democracy and secularism. In Kashmir, history

and polities are inseparable. The traditional secularism, humanism, the confulence of Hindus and Muslims, legacy of secular King Bad-Shah and demonstration of communal amity in 1947, when entire sub-continent witnessed communal holocaust still breath here, entire Kashmir is not afflicted withextremism. Kashmir's freedom struggle was based on the vision of freedom and democracy, committed to shared values which would unite a poor divisive people to an inspired destiny. Kashmir being under present strain, thereis every possibility that we may lose our way. We need an exercise in wisdom instead the present phase of lack of direction may initiate the long and complex history of the region.

(Peer-Giyan-ud-Din)

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